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CHARLES III. OF NAPLES AND URBAN VI.

UNIV. OF MICH.

UNIV. OF MICH.

CHARLES OF DURAZZO (DELLA PACE),
KING OF NAPLES, SICILY, AND JERUSALEM.
1381–1386.

ARLES III.

AN

ECCO

PO

Two Historical

ST CLAIR

CHARLES III. OF NAPLES AND URBAN VI.

ALSO

CECCO D'ASCOLI

POET, ASTROLOGER, PHYSICIAN

Two Historical Essays

BY

ST CLAIR BADDELEY

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN
1894

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To

LOUIS SCHOTT, Esq

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PREFACE.

FOR the understanding of the tragic and somewhat remarkable history laid bare in the following pages, it is sufficient to premise that Charles, Duke of Durazzo (Della Pace), was at this period the sole surviving direct male representative of the three Neapolitan branches of the House of Anjou. That being so, he had been adopted, educated, and treated in all things as a possible successor to her throne by Queen Joanna I.

His father, Louis, had died in the prisons of the Castello dell' Ovo at Naples in June 1362, while undergoing captivity for persistent rebellion.[1] It has often been stated that he died of poison administered to him by Queen Joanna; but I find that an Inquisitorial process had been opened against him during the last few months of his life on account of his having joined and patronised the proscribed sect of the Fraticelli.[2] He had further incurred the wrath of Avignon by violently laying hands on the properties of his niece, Joanna, Duchess of Durazzo.[3] More-

[1] Chron. Vatic., 19; M. Villani, x. 86. He had previously given his son, Charles, a hostage to Queen Joanna, for his own good behaviour.

[2] Archivio Storico per le Province Napolitane; Lea, Hist. Inquisition, vol. iii. 158, anno xii. fasc. i. pp. 39, 40.

[3] Regesto delle lettere Innocenzo VI.; Martène and Durand, Thesaurus, ii. 77.

over, as formerly with Andrew of Hungary, the princes Robert and Philip of Taranto were not uninterested in his decease,[1] thinking that he might become a suitor for the Queen's hand upon the death of their brother King Luigi.[2] Hence, it is manifestly unnecessary to lay the charge of his death at Queen Joanna's door, as has usually been done, and for which there is not forthcoming one tittle of evidence.

The mother of Charles, Margherita da Corigliano, was a daughter of Roberto San Severino, Count of Tricarico, and had predeceased his father. His own wife was destined to bear the same Christian name; for Queen Joanna, having lost all her own children in their infancy, had already adopted Margaret, youngest daughter of her only sister, and prospective heiress, Maria da Durazzo. These two children were therefore brought up together. It was later on intended by the Queen that Margaret should marry Frederick III. of Sicily. Owing, however, to the fact that Sicily with her Aragonese ruler was at this period under Papal interdict, the project was abandoned, and the Queen afterwards obtained a
1369. dispensation from Urban V. for the union of Margaret with her cousin, Charles of Durazzo, which
1370. consequently took place at Naples with very natural rejoicings.[3]

In consequence of the interested and reiterated

[1] Chron. di Parthenope, iii. 40, apud Muratori, R.I.S.S.

[2] He died 26th May 1362.

[3] Her elder sisters, Joanna and Agnes, had in turn surrendered their rights to the throne on the occasions of their respective marriages, so

overtures made him by his kinsman Louis, King of Hungary and Poland (perhaps the most powerful monarch of his day in Europe), to whom, as early as 1363, Urban V. had written recommending him, the young prince obtained the reluctant consent of Queen Joanna to his visiting Buda, in order to acquaint himself with the arts of war and the exercises of chivalry.[1]

Unfortunately, a life-long jealousy and enmity had subsisted between the King of Hungary and his cousin, Queen Joanna, owing to the bitter family divisions which had formerly culminated in the assassination of his brother Andrew, her first husband, in 1345. These feelings, though necessarily moderated by time, and by vengeance taken, had been assiduously kept alive through the vindictive vigour of the old queen-mother, Elisabeth, who now governed her native Poland for her son Louis. Outward harmony between the respective realms was, nevertheless, ably preserved by the political tact of three successive Pontiffs—Innocent VI., Urban V., and Gregory XI., who continuously advised and favoured the unfortunate Queen of Naples.

Acutely made aware of the antagonism nourished against her at the Hungarian Court, it is scarcely matter for wonder that Queen Joanna should have regarded the departure of Charles from Italy with

that Margaret was now definitively heiress to Queen Joanna, by succession to her mother, Maria da Durazzo, in accordance with the will of King Robert. See 'Genealogy.' Chron. di Parth., 41.

[1] Theiner, Mon. Hist. Hungar., tom. ii. 62; Chron. di Parthenope, iii. 40.

the gravest misgivings. A brief interval sufficed to confirm, in no doubtful manner, the accuracy of her tristful forecast. More and more of his time was spent at Buda: less and less was spent at Naples. Louis having daughters only, succeeded in absorbing the Prince's affection, and trained him, during his ensuing wars with the Venetian Republic, for a military commander.

Left alone at Naples, owing to the insane Spanish enterprises of her husband, James of Majorca,[1] and later, by his death, finding herself once more a widow burdened with great political responsibilities, in 1376
March 25, 1376. Queen Joanna accepted the hand of Otho, Duke of Brunswick, a tried and famous general, and conferred upon him the Principality of Taranto. There can be no doubt this union,[2] reasonable as it was, gave umbrage to both Charles and Margaret, who had been made, not unduly, to realise their own proximity to the throne, though it cannot be reputed the primal cause of the rupture between Charles and his well-intentioned foster-mother. It is probable that it seemed a vigorous response to the policy being pursued by the King of Hungary, who, with a view of dictating to Naples in case of the death of Queen Joanna, was then carrying on active negotiations with Charles V. of France.[3]

[1] Annales de Aragon, G. Zurita, vol. ii. See excerpts translated in the Appendix to Queen Joanna I. Froissart's Chronicle.

[2] Although Otho had in the previous year stood godfather to their son Ladislaus. 'Cujus compater idem Dux Otto erat, qui ipsum Ladislaum regem de sacro fonte levavit.' De Niem, De Scismate, lib. i. xxi.

[3] The Queen was now fifty-one years of age; see p. 33, note 4; also

So long as the Papacy was in the keeping of French Pontiffs at Avignon, the relations between it and the throne of Naples were cordial in the extreme. To Queen Joanna herself the Holy See owed possession of Avignon, which, as Countess of Provence, she had sold to it in 1348; and to the Holy See in the first instance the House of Anjou owed possession of the thrones of Naples and Hungary. As soon, however, as in answer to the popular demand for an Italian Pontiff, an upstart Neapolitan prelate was elected to fill the throne of St. Peter in the person of (Bartolommeo Prignano) Urban VI., a heavy storm-cloud again not only overshadowed the diplomatic relations of those realms with one another, but threatened those of every other state in Christendom. 1305-1378.

Almost from the day of his election, in 1378, this Pope openly avowed designs upon the kingdom of Naples for the aggrandisement of his own family. Not successful in bringing about a projected union between Maria, daughter and heiress of Frederick III. of Sicily, and his nephew Francesco Prignano, he picked a quarrel with Queen Joanna and her husband over the matter,[1] and then, taking advantage of the thinly veiled enmity borne her by King Louis, promised his Pontifical assistance to Charles of Durazzo if he would come from Hungary to snatch Naples from its ruler. Meanwhile he

Archivio Storico per le Province Napolitane, anno xii. fasc. ii. 394, note 1.

[1] See 'Queen Joanna I.,' pp. 248, 249; De Niem, De Scismate, l. 1, c. vi.; Bonincontri, c. 29; Chron. Reginens, Gazat, apud Muratori,

gratuitously insulted the Cardinals who had elected him; whereupon, disgusted with his violence and brutality, they deserted him in a body, and elected in his stead, Robert, Cardinal of Geneva, styled Clement VII., simultaneously declaring Urban's election to be void. Thus commenced the Western Schism. In the extraordinary ferment that ensued, Louis of Hungary adhered to Urban, while Queen Joanna naturally sided with the French Cardinals and their patron, Onorato Cajetani, Lord of Fondi.[1]

Urban now pronounced the Queen excommunicate[2] and her throne vacant, and forthwith sent urgent messages to Hungary, first of all offering her kingdom to Louis, who refused it, and then to Charles of Durazzo, whom he entreated to hasten, promising personally to crown him at Rome; at the same time, however, slily determining to exact intolerable conditions from him in the event of his success in the necessary campaign. Meantime, seeing no clear way out of the stormy straits into which these ominous developments were rapidly driving her, Queen Joanna had reluctant recourse to the only important political means for self-defence in her power, and summoned to her aid her kinsman Louis, Duke of Anjou, brother

xviii. 88. Otho desired to marry her to his ward and kinsman, Giovanni, Marquis of Montferrat, afterwards killed in the skirmish with Charles of Durazzo before Naples, when Otho himself was taken prisoner. Chron. Vaticanum, 39.

[1] Clement created him 'Rector Campaniæ et Maritimæ,' and his daughter, Jacobella, married Duke Otho's brother, Balthasar, 1379. Il Saggiatore, anno ii. vol. iv. 296.

[2] April 21, 1380. Gobelinus, Persona in Cosmodrom, vi. 76.

of Charles V. of France, granting him in return for promise of it, letters of adoption as her absolute successor to the throne of Naples and the Countships of Provence and Forcalquier.[1]

The Duke eagerly accepted his new responsibilities, and, in concert with the Antipope, at once devised means for collecting a formidable army in order to counteract Charles and Urban in Italy. But fortune was against the Queen of Naples. Her antagonists, already equipped for the fray, descended upon her realm before the Duke of Anjou could even organise his forces. Consequently, in July 1381, by the outflanking of her army under command of Duke Otho, she found herself closely besieged by Charles in the Castello Nuovo, in her own capital, and vainly awaiting the advent of the Duke of Anjou.

Some details of these important affairs have been recounted at length in a previous work, on Queen Joanna I., for the kind reception of which, in spite of its many defects and shortcomings, I am sincerely grateful to my reviewers. Since that was published, however, I have had the advantage of making a further considerable sojourn among the scenes where these events took place, and of studying the many valuable archivial documents brought to light in recent years by the admirable researches of the late Matteo Camera, N. Barone, Giuseppe de Blasiis,

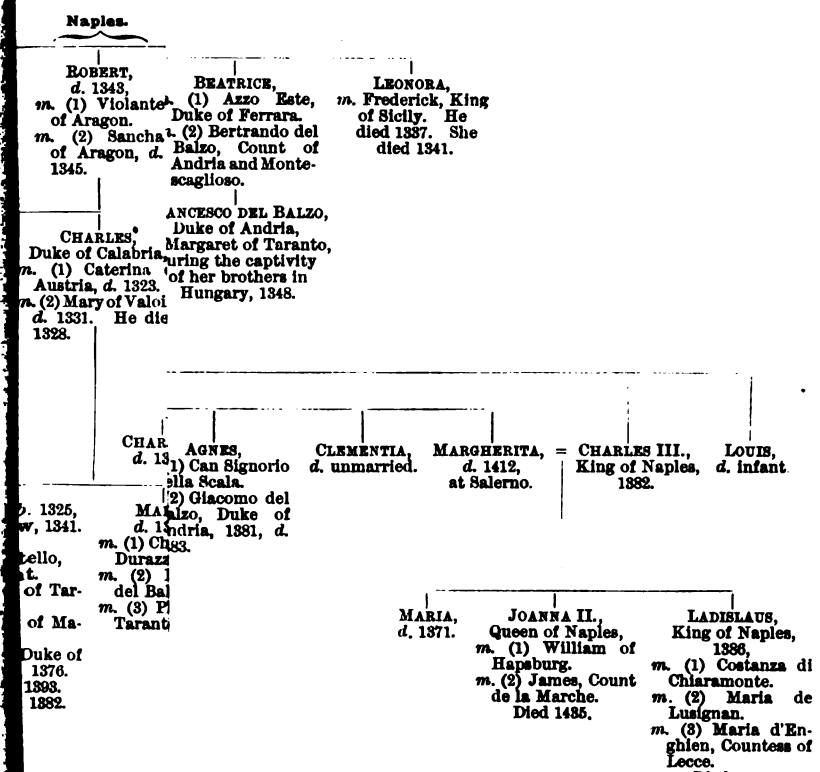
[1] Clement confirmed her assignment, August 1, 1380. Lünig, Codic. Ital. Diplom., ii. 1142; Vita Clementis, apud Baluzium; Juvenal des Ursins, Hist. Charles VI., l.l. 543.

Minieri Riccio, and Dr. George Erler, to which I have here united the results of similar studies in contemporaneous Hungarian and French history.

In this volume I have included an Essay on another Italian subject belonging to the fourteenth century, namely, "Cecco d'Ascoli, Poet, Physician, Astrologer;" a noted contemporary of Dante; for a short time an instructor of Petrarch; and ultimately a victim of the Holy Inquisition.

November 27, 1893.

GENEAL


Naples.
ROBERT, d. 1343, m. (1) Violante of Aragon. m. (2) Sancha of Aragon, d. 1345.
BEATRICE, (1) Azzo Este, Duke of Ferrara. (2) Bertrando del Balzo, Count of Andria and Montescaglioso.
LEONORA, m. Frederick, King of Sicily. He died 1337. She died 1341.
ANCESCO DEL BALZO, Duke of Andria, Margaret of Taranto, uring the captivity of her brothers in Hungary, 1348.
CHARLES, Duke of Calabria, m. (1) Caterina Austria, d. 1323. m. (2) Mary of Valoi d. 1331. He die 1328.
CHAR d. 13
AGNES, 1) Can Signorio lla Scala. (2) Giacomo del lzo, Duke of ndria, 1381, d.
CLEMENTIA, d. unmarried.
MARGHERITA, d. 1412, at Salerno.
CHARLES III., King of Naples, 1382.
LOUIS, d. infant.
. 1325, w, 1341.
ello, t. of Tar- of Ma-
MA d. 1 m. (1) Ch 83. Durazz m. (2) del Ba m. (3) P Tarant
Duke of 1376. 1393. 1382.
MARIA, d. 1371.
JOANNA II., Queen of Naples, m. (1) William of Hapsburg. m. (2) James, Count de la Marche. Died 1435.
LADISLAUS, King of Naples, 1386, m. (1) Costanza di Chiaramonte. m. (2) Maria de Lusignan. m. (3) Maria d'Enghien, Countess of Lecce. Died 1404.

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CHARLES III. (DURAZZO) OF NAPLES AND URBAN VI.

1381–1391.

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CHAPTER I.

UPON the surrender of the Castelnuovo by Queen Joanna on August 25th to her kinsman, Charles of Durazzo, and his army, the victor's attention was drawn, perforce, simultaneously in three directions. First of all, he had to consider the immediate needs of a distracted realm; secondly, he 1381.

had to determine what should be his own future attitude toward Urban, in regard to the bargain which that ambitious Pontiff had exacted of him, namely, that if successful in driving out Queen Joanna and her husband, Duke Otho of Brunswick, he should give up Capua, Amalfi, Salerno, Nocera, and Scafate to Francesco Prignano, Urban's nephew; and lastly, he had to make preparations against a formidable invading army, headed by his kinsman, Louis, Duke of Anjou, which had been raised in France through the instrumentality of the Antipope, Clement VII.

In view of his success, responsibilities thus came thick upon him; but the immediate needs of the realm pressed him closest. It was before all politic to commence dealing out rewards to those of his friends and subjects who had aided him in his recent undertakings, as by this means he would both fortify them in their fidelity and tempt from further allegiance to the captive Queen certain of their influential kinsmen. For the most part, these consisted in handing over to them the estates forfeited by their loyal adversaries. This measure was carried out on a large and generous scale, and it greatly extended the King's popularity. Those alone escaped the forfeiture of their property who, before it was too late, deserted the Queen's cause, out of fear, greed, or desperation.

It was natural that, in this state of affairs, many of the leading families should become divided; and it

would be difficult, perhaps, to name any single one of importance that was not. Onorato Cajetani, head of the great house of Fondi,[1] resolutely adhered to the Antipope, and as obstinately refused to acknowledge the King, as being at once the creature of Urban and the usurper of Queen Joanna's throne. His brother Giacomo, however, probably in the hope of dispossessing him, curried favour so successfully at Naples that he was created a Knight of the 'Ship,'[2] an Order of Chivalry which Charles now instituted in emulation of King Luigi (of Taranto), and his Order of the 'Knot.'[3] The branches of the numerous clan of San Severino, closely related to the King through his mother,[4] were somewhat confusingly pitted against one another. Ugo San Severino, Count of Potenza, who had acted as envoy between Queen Joanna and Charles in the matter of her surrender, and had held the post of great Protonotary of the kingdom, afterwards held office for a time under the King; while Tommaso San Severino, who had proved an energetic High Constable, was now equally energetic in France, organising affairs in favour of the invader. One Count of Conversano[5] officiated

[1] Luigi Tosti, La Badia di Monte-Cassino, vol. iii. lib. 8. Matteo Camera, Elucubrazioni Diplomatiche, p. 297, note 1.

[2] Compagnia della Nave. In allusion to the Argonauts. *Vide* Matteo Camera.

[3] Costanzo, the Neapolitan historian, considers this Order, 'Del Nodo,' to have been the first Order instituted in Italy. Istoria di Napoli, lib. vi.

[4] *Vide* Genealogy, Table III.

[5] Giovanni di Luxemburg.

at the coronation of Queen Margaret, while another was banded with the rebel Giacomo San Severino, in the province of Bari. Against these, Raimondello Orsini, son of Niccolo, Count of Nola, was presently despatched with troops. The Orsini family took care to be on the winning side, as likewise did the Caraccioli. Of this Raimondello Orsini we shall hear much in the ensuing narrative. The only individual bearing the great name of Del Balzo, who figured in the train of the conqueror, was the wily Giacomo, Duke of Andria, whose long and inherited contumacy was now to be recompensed, as he thought, by the recovery from the captive Duke Otho of Brunswick, of the desired principality of Taranto, his reiterated claims upon which, in right of his mother, Margaret,[1] Queen Joanna had steadfastly refused to countenance.[2]

There were two other actual home requirements especially pressing upon Charles, which shall be noticed here. The first was the necessity of dealing with his royal relatives (now his prisoners), of whom there were no less than seven to reckon with, namely, Queen Joanna, her nieces Agnes della Scala and Joanna of Durazzo, with the latter's husband, Robert, Count of Artois, both of them elder sisters of Queen Margaret,—the three brothers, Otho, Duke of Brunswick, husband of Queen Joanna, Balthasar, and the Abbot of Cava. His other need was money.

[1] See Genealogical Table.

[2] Philip I. of Taranto, dying in Dec. 1331, had left his principality to the infant Joanna, then presumptive heiress of King Robert, his brother.

CASTELLO DELL' OVO, NAPLES.

With regard to Queen Joanna herself, she had on the 2nd of September been removed to the Castello dell' Ovo, upon which the King took up his own abode in the much-damaged Castelnuovo.[1] There is no evidence whatever to show that he treated her otherwise than with indulgence. In the Castello dell' Ovo she remained until the end of January in the following year, when she was transferred to the Castle of Nocera, together with Jacopo di Capri,[2] his wife, and others, who had shared with her the previous anxieties and distresses of the siege. Her husband, Otho, after his capture in the fierce skirmish of September 1st, had been conducted before King Charles,[3] who was then residing in the palace formerly belonging to Acciajuoli, the Grand Seneschal. He also was consigned to the Castello dell' Ovo, where he found, likewise as captives, his brothers, Duke Balthasar, who had commanded a German garrison up at St. Elmo, and the Abbot of Cava. The foreign soldiers were given seven fiorini apiece, and sworn to keep beyond the confines of the kingdom for a year. Six weeks later, the Abbot of Cava, together with Duke Balthasar, was taken to the

[1] Chron. Siculum, p. 39. [2] Ibid., p. 45.

[3] 'Cum autem dictus dominus Otto ad presenciam ejusdem regis Karoli perveniret, idem Karolus incepit eum vituperare dicens, quo animo ipse dictum regnum Sicilie contra eum presumeret detinere. Cui dictus dux respondit dicens, quod nichil sibi de ipsius Karoli regis regno constaret, sed regnum domine sue, pront tenebatur, contra ipsius domine hostes pro posse fideliter defensasset, quodque nemo aliud dicere in veritate posset, nec caput nec genua coram ipso Karolo flexit. De quo ammiratus idem Karolus Rex eum in carceribus detrudi mandavit.' —De Scismate, xxiv., De Niem.

Castle of Capua, while Duke Otho was removed to Altamura.

Agnes della Scala (widow of Can Signorio of Verona) had resided with her aunt, Queen Joanna, since her return to Naples.[1] She was the twin-sister of Clementia da Durazzo, who had died unmarried many years previously. She had shared the Queen's beleaguerment in Castelnuovo, and a tragic fate likewise awaited her.

A more curious and not less tragic interest, however, attaches to Joanna, her elder sister, the wife of Robert, Count of Artois. She was the eldest of the four daughters of Charles (I.) Duke of Durazzo, whom Louis of Hungary had put to death, and of Mary, only sister of Queen Joanna. In 1363 she had married Louis d'Evreux, son of the King of Navarre. He had died in 1376, and in April 1378 she was united to Robert, Count of Artois, nephew of the King of France. As the eldest daughter of her sonless parents, she was placed nearer the throne than her sisters, but upon her marriage she had surrendered her right of succession. She had become possessed of considerable wealth in land and specie; the latter of which she had lately hidden for security in the monastery of Sta. Croce.[2] Her husband had commanded one division of Otho's troops during the siege. He was

[1] 1375.

[2] Founded by Queen Sancia, wife of King Robert. It was named after that at Florence, where their infant son had been buried. *Vide* Tristan Caraccioli, Joann. vit. ap. Muratori, xxii. 15.

now a prisoner; her palace had been looted; while King Charles went in person to Sta. Croce and compelled the nuns to deliver up her property. What boded still worse for her, however, was her having been wedded the second time under an Anti-papal dispensation, so that she might, if judged severely, have been considered to have forfeited all rights whatsoever. She lost no time, therefore, in making terms with her brother-in-law and sister; and accordingly, on the 8th of September, before Queen Margaret herself had arrived in Naples, she did homage to Charles as King of Naples, in the Chapel of Castelnuovo.[1] The chief offence she and her husband were charged with was that they had written encouraging letters to Louis of Anjou,[2] and for this they were consigned to strict, but at first gentle, durance. By a documentary agreement,[3] dated January of the following year, the Duchess makes over to the King her castle of Monte St. Angelo, at Gargano, with other lands inherited from her mother; while, on his part, King Charles pardons her and her husband for their rebellion in favour of Queen Joanna, forgives them for having corresponded with Louis of Anjou, and provides easy conditions for their honourable captivity. Among other terms mentioned as agreed upon, the

[1] Chron. Siculum, p. 40. Archiv. Storico Napol., anno xii. fasc. ii. p. 403, note 4.

[2] 'Specialiter de litteris missis per eos . . . Duci Andegavie et aliis literis receptis per eos a dicto Duce per manus Johannis Vo (Vaux).'—Saggio di Cod., Dipl. 2, pt. 2, p. 26.

[3] Given in Matteo Camera, Elucubrazioni Storico Diplomatiche, su Giovanna I., Salerno, 1889.

Duchess is permitted to go freely whithersoever she will, while Queen Margaret is with her. She is to have day and night servants, a secretary, a chaplain, and a physician. Moreover, the Count, her husband, is permitted to keep his French cook.[1] Neither husband nor wife, however, regained their freedom.

Let me note whatever can be cleared up of their tragic mystery. Their beautiful tomb in San Lorenzo declares that they died on the same day in July 1387 : that is to say, the inscription[2] thereon explicitly states such was the case. There is, however, ground for declaring this inscription to be at variance with facts. For it can be shown on reliable evidence that Count Robert died on the 18th June 1383 'in castro Ovi existens captius in compedibus ferreis, et, eodem sero, secunda hora noctis, fuit delatus per CXXX. fratres minores cum XII. facibus accensis ad Sanctum Laurentium,'[3] while his wife, according to the same Chronicle, survived until 1393, when King Ladislaus invested his mother, Queen Margaret, with certain feudal rights possessed by Joanna, 'her late sister.' Professor Josephus de Blasiis adduces further evidence which goes to shew that she died many years later than her husband, that her body was carried to Gaëta, where Margaret and Ladislaus held their court during the long strife betwixt the latter

[1] Archiv. Stor. Napol. Ex. Regest. Karol. III., 1382-3, fol. 134.

[2] 'Hic jacent corpora illustrium dnor dni Roberti De Artois Et Dna Johana ducisse Duracii conjugor Qui obierunt anno dni M.CCC.LXXXVII. die XX mensis Julii decima Indictionis quom anime requiescant in pace.'

[3] Chronicon Siculum, p. 49. Giornale del Duca.

TOMB OF GIOVANNA DA DURAZZO AND ROBERT, COUNT OF ARTOIS,
IN SAN LORENZO, NAPLES.

and Louis II. of Anjou, and that in 1399 it was brought back to Naples, and then for the first time deposited in the tomb where it now rests.[1]

How then did the fiction about their simultaneous deaths arise? Of this, the learned De Blasiis gives no satisfactory account; but after personally examining the tomb in San Lorenzo,[2] matters seem somewhat clearer to me. The sarcophagus in which their remains lie is supported by three small caryatid figures. One of these, with a chalice and host, represents Faith, and another, with a torch, Hope: the middle one, however, holds in one hand a broken scourge (?), and in the other a charger or platter bearing two decapitated heads. Now, like the other beautiful Durazzo monuments in the church, this one, the work of an unknown master, was made probably at a distance from the capital, and afterwards brought thither in portions and put together. Whether the sculptor received garbled information as to their deaths, and so acted upon it by introducing this token of their supposed execution, it is not possible to decide; but I am strongly inclined to suspect this carven fiction has given rise to the inscribed fiction upon the tomb, which therefore must be of later date than the tomb itself. In any case, one fact is quite certain about this Joanna, Queen Margaret's eldest sister—namely, that she survived her

[1] See Archivio Storico Napol., anno xii. p. 408, note 2; Chron. Sic., p. 49, note 2; Giorn. Napol., l.l. 1046.

[2] See Handbook of Italian Sculpture, p. 169. C. Perkins. New York, 1883.

husband, and did not die during the reign of Charles of Durazzo.

To return to King Charles. As to the raising of money, there were three means open to him, of all of which he made ample use — confiscation, fresh taxation, and plunder of the native and foreign merchants. Towards the first, there was at his disposal the private wealth of all these royal captives and their officers, as well as that of the Clementist clerics. Fresh taxation was decreed in a general Parliament called together in November,[1] when Niccolo Orsini, Count of Nola, proposed and carried a resolution for raising 300,000 fiorini. This measure, however, proved far too exacting for the undecided loyalty of many of the Council, who, on retiring safely to their estates, either found themselves unable to pay their quota, or openly unfurled the standard of Louis of Anjou. Among those who threw off their allegiance were numbered Luigi d'Artois (brother of the aforesaid Count Robert), and Niccolo d'Enghien, Count of Lecce.

The foreign trade of Naples had by this time dwindled considerably, owing before all to the difficulties with Rome, naturally the chief consumer of Neapolitan exports. To this depressing circumstance another had now to be added, namely, the absolute insecurity of goods sent by land or water. Over and

[1] See Matteo Camera, p. 297; Chron. Sicul., p. 14, note 4; Costanzo, lib. viii.

over again in the rolls of these years do we meet with edicts against brigands and pirates, the former of whom, when opportunity occurred, scrupled not to appropriate even the royal treasure and the mules conveying it; while the latter, boldly descending upon the coasts, looted the vessels of the Genoese and Pisan merchants. The knowledge that a vast army of invasion was on its way from France did not, it may be imagined, tend to improve the state of affairs.

But while dealing out rewards to his deserving captains, and consolidating the fidelity of his capricious subjects, Charles was compelled to be mindful of his critical relations with Urban.

He knew that Louis of Anjou, as the adoptive heir of Queen Joanna, was preparing to contest his throne by force of arms; although from that struggle he had no reason to shrink. War, on any scale, was a definite contingency, which, as a trained and practised soldier, he was not afraid to face. He was now thirty-five years of age, and essentially a man of action. He could command money and material enough at least to enable him to act on the defensive. King Louis of Hungary, who had prompted his enterprise, and who had been much beholden to him, would, if necessary, help him further to stand his ground. But there remained Urban to deal with, and the severely exacting bargain which that grasping Pontiff had wrung from him as to the handing over to his nephew,

Francesco Prignano, the Principality of Capua, the Duchy of Amalfi, and the Countships of Nocera and Scafate. Charles realised the impossibility of fulfilling this bargain and at the same time of being able to retain his dignity as King of Naples. He had undergone all the heat and worry of the struggle, had won the day and the kingdom, and now he was expected to calmly dismember the realm of his forefathers, yield the very choicest and strongest portions of it to the nephew of an upstart Neapolitan Pontiff. Yet it behoved him, as he well knew, to avoid open rupture with Urban, as long as possible, and by so doing steady and strengthen himself in his dominion. One thing, however, was clear: come what might between them, Urban, in his own interest as supreme Pontiff, would be bound to side with Charles against Louis of Anjou and the Antipope. Yet another thing seemed scarcely less obvious. From what Charles had already experienced of the Pope's character, it was unlikely that Urban would abate any jot of his former pretensions. On the contrary, it was probable he would multiply his claims. Still, it would not do to break with him. Rather than do this, it would be wiser to surrender Nocera and Scafate, and this, indeed, before long, he felt himself compelled to do.

Urban had already given evidence that his nepotism was of a more pronounced and bolder character than that of almost any of his predecessors in the Holy See. To some people this seemed the more

singular, inasmuch as, unlike the families of Colonna, Orsini, and Cajetani, the Prignano family was not merely unknown in the world of Rome, but it could boast of no previous honours, or influence, civic or clerical, of any kind. In accordance, however, with an obscure law of human nature, the pretensions it displayed were in an inverse ratio to its shortcomings in these respects. All Papal nepotism was vice; and it was unblushing in its procedure. The Holy See had been swayed more than once by members of each of the historic houses before-mentioned, and upon each occasion with flagrant accumulation of feudal advantages; but no Orsini, no Colonna, none even of the powerful house of Fondi, had actually dared to raise his relatives to regal supremacy. In this respect Urban was determined to outdo them all. Once promoted by capricious fortune to the supreme command in the Church, he resolved to make the fullest secular advantages of his position. The like opportunity would scarcely occur again to a Prignano.

For the purpose, therefore, of conciliating Urban, and, for the time being, to dissemble his feelings with regard to that Pontiff's ambition, Charles felt it necessary to give free hand to Cardinal Gentile di Sangro, who had been despatched to Naples in order to inspire with inquisitorial terrors the open adherents of Clement there.

Chief among the latter were Cardinals Leonardo Gifoni and Giacomo d'Itri,[1] the former of whom had,

[1] Matteo Camera, p. 297.

by Queen Joanna's expressed desire, been raised by the Antipope from the Generalship of the Franciscans to the tasselled hat, while the latter had arrived at Naples the previous June as special legate from Avignon, to convey to that Queen the news that Clement had confirmed her adoption of Louis of Anjou. Both had been captured at the surrender of Castel-nuovo, and early in September, at the Church of St. Chiara, in the presence of Charles and a throng of nobles and citizens, these two Antipapal Cardinals were compelled by Di Sangro to deny that Clement was the true Pope; to denounce and anathematise him; to seek for mercy; and, finally, to burn their hats in a fire lighted for the purpose.[1] Along with them, and for similar degradation, appeared Tommaso Brancaccio, Bishop of Chieti, Bishop Cosillus, and many others. These were afterwards taken back to prison to be subjected to the torture by the inquisitors Domenico di Afragola[2] and Leonardo di Napoli, under the infliction of which some of the lesser clergy succumbed.[3] Di Sangro reserved the Cardinals, however, for the personal vengeance of Urban, and they were taken in the following February to Benevento. In 1393, nevertheless, Giacomo d'Itri survived, and finally found his way back to Clement at Avignon.[4] The benefices

[1] Matteo Camera, p. 297; Chronicon Siculum, p. 40; Summonte, Istoria di Napoli, vol. ii. p. 477. 'Fu arso lo capello et li panni dello detto Cardinale in mezzo alla ecclesia de Santa Chiara.'—Giorn. Napol., l.l. 1044.

[2] Archivio Storico Napol., anno xii. fasc. i. p. 21, note 2.

[3] Ciaconii Vit. et Res. Gest. Pontif. Ed. ab Oldoino, II, 644.

[4] Chronicon Siculum, p. 40, note 1.

thus rendered vacant by the triumph of Charles were speedily filled with the creatures of Urban, while Gentile di Sangro and his family were rewarded with a portion of the property of Giovanna da Durazzo.[1]

On the 25th of November this blood-stained Di Sangro placed the crown of Naples on the brow of Queen Margaret in the Church of Sta. Maria dell' Incoronata,[2] in the presence of the King and Francesco Prignano, Urban's nephew; after which the Queen, mounted on a white palfrey, crowned and sceptred, was led through the streets of the capital, her bridle being held on one side by Giovanni di Luxemburg, Count of Conversano, and on the other by her cousin, Giacomo del Balzo, Duke of Andria, the citizens and soldiers making great jubilation.

The honours of the house of Del Balzo were thus still in the ascendant; indeed, at this very moment they were to be rendered yet brighter by the Queen consenting to give the ambitious Andria in marriage her elder sister, Agnes della Scala. The Duke certainly had good reason to believe that the triumph of Charles and Margaret was as much due to his exertions against Queen Joanna as to Urban or the Hungarian troops. Indeed, he had acted all along as the wire-puller betwixt Urban and Charles. But his hard-won success was made yet sweeter, for it was not only a triumph over Queen Joanna, but it was tantamount to a crushing defeat of the rival San

[1] Archivio Storico Napol., anno xii. fasc. i. p. 17, note.
[2] Chronicon Siculum, p. 43.

Severini, who were the King's first cousins.[1] The
1381. marriage took place on the 4th of December, with royal honours and in the royal presence.

Andria's exultation, nevertheless, like that of Cardinal di Sangro, was not destined to be enduring. The Duke, above all things, desired actual possession of the Principality of Taranto, which his father, Francesco del Balzo, had vainly claimed before him; for the Princes of Taranto had left no legitimate offspring, and his mother, Margaret, had been their only sister. Within a short time he took the opportunity to solicit the King for the restitution of such Tarantine lands as Queen Joanna had apportioned between Otho of Brunswick and the Marzano family. This Charles professed he was unable to do, and therefore refused. Andria perhaps concealed his chagrin by confidently styling himself Emperor of Constantinople.[2] The San Severini, however, now took their advantage, by pointing out to the King that Andria was the individual most dangerous to the peace of the kingdom, since, so closely allied was he to the throne by his marriage with the Queen's elder sister, and by descent from a senior branch of the House of Anjou; moreover, being personally encouraged by Urban, should that grasping Pontiff resort to extreme measures against Charles, it was upon him the crown might not improbably devolve.

[1] *Vide* Genealogy.

[2] At this time his bailly, Pietro de Saperano, did actually exercise for him rights over Achaia, in virtue of the titular rights of Catherine Courtenay, his maternal grandmother. Finlay, Hist. of Greece, iv. 223.

TOMB OF AGNES AND CLEMENTIA DURAZZO
IN STA. CHIARA, NAPLES.

Charles saw his danger, and consequently made haste to secure Andria's person. Forewarned of his peril (probably by his wife), the Duke fled to Taranto, leaving his spouse to bear the displeasure of her brother-in-law. She was made prisoner again, and sent to the fatal Castle of Muro, where she died 10th February 1383.[1] Her body was afterwards brought to Naples and interred in the noble monument which still commemorates her and her sister, Clementia, in St. Chiara.[2] The Duke meanwhile found Taranto in possession of Raimondello Orsini, who refused him entrance. Nevertheless, by compromising his claims with Orsini (who afterwards, in consequence, joined to his own the name of Del Balzo), he took up his abode there; but dying in the same year, he was buried there in the Church of San Cataldo.[3]

The year 1381, as we have seen, had closed in family and national festivals, and the citizens of Naples were pleased to think they were now subject to a native King and an equally native Pope, whose personal interests, despite their vital personal differences, must perforce unite them against the common foe. Nor did either of them underrate the importance of the coming struggle. Urban continued to press the King for fulfilment of the distasteful conditions upon acceptance of which he had formerly decreed the latter's coronation; while the King in reply sent June 1, 1381.

[1] Summonte, Istoria di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 479.

[2] Chron. Siculum, p. 121. The 'Giornale del Duca' says Sept. 5, 1382.

[3] Matteo Camera, Elucubrazioni Diplomatiche, p. 314.

benign messages, and temporised as long as was possible. How this difference inevitably developed into open and dramatic rupture will be traced in the following chapters.

Whatever minor troubles fretted him in the first year of his reign—and there were not a few — Charles did not permit himself to under-estimate the formidable contest about to commence, in which his hard-won crown was to be the stake. In having snatched that crown from the brows of Queen Joanna, he was doubtless aware of having taken upon himself troubles peculiar to its former wearers.

It is not difficult to imagine how far from displeasing in the eyes of the Ghibelline powers in Northern Italy was all this distress both from without and from within, to which the much-vaunted Guelfic kingdom of Naples was still subject. Bernabo Visconti himself, aiming, like Urban, at general sovereignty over Italy, contributed further to the discomfort of Charles by bringing about a betrothal between his daughter Lucia [1] and the second son of Louis of Anjou.[2]

[1] Corio, Storia di Milano, vol. ii. p. 296.
[2] The marriage, however, did not take place.

CHAPTER II.

LET me now turn attention to the schemes of the invader, and mark how far affairs prospered with him and seemed to portend success. The promised devolution upon him of his kinswoman's crown, together with the necessity for raising a vast armament in order to obtain actual possession of it, reached Louis of Anjou while fulfilling the duties of Regent and President of the Royal Council for his nephew, Charles VI. of France. With this his brothers, the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy,[1] seeing in his removal from France the promise of their own advancement, were not a little pleased; while his Duchess, Mary of Blois,[2] was not behindhand in displaying her desire to wear the quadruple honours of Naples, Sicily, Jerusalem, and Provence. To procure means for his campaign, two sources lay open to him —his friendship with Clement at Avignon, and his office as Comptroller of Finances. It is not difficult to imagine how both these advantages were made use of. He sold without scruple the royal jewels and the various treasures collected in the Castle of Melun; while Clement, seeing in him the best possible instrument for triumphing over Urban, not only

[1] History of France, vol. i. p. 481. Kitchin, 3rd edition.
[2] 'Dite la Clope ou la Boiteuse.' Bouche, Hist. Provence, tom. ii. p. 406.

received him and his Duchess with regal honours, but encouraged various nobles of importance to join his rapidly swelling forces, and caused fleet after fleet of Provençal galleys to put forth to harry the coasts of Naples in order to stimulate to fresh efforts the forlorn adherents of the still captive Queen Joanna. Thus we find, on September 22nd (1381), five Provençal galleys effected the escape of a number of Germans who had fought for the Queen and Otho. On October 4th nine more sacked Positano and Tripergoli.[1] Others followed them, treating Castellamare in similar fashion, while in July of the next year several more effected a landing on Capri, and forthwith unfurled there the Angevine standard.

Charles spent the opening months of 1382 in reorganising the affairs of the realm and drawing around him men of tried character, especially befriending among the ecclesiastics those he deemed likely to be of use in the inevitable contest with Urban. Chief among these were Bartolommeo Mezzavacca, Cardinal of Rieti,[2] and Pietro di Tartaris, Abbot of Monte-Cassino. He also took care to despatch trusty envoys, such as Giovanni Caracciolo and Giugliotto de Brancardis, to distant parts of Italy, where he had friends, and—as one Chronicle at least reports—to convey a personal challenge to Louis of Anjou.

[1] Chronicon Siculum, p. 40.

[2] On March 20, landed at Posilippo the three Cardinals, of Rieti, San Cyriaci in Thermis, and Luigi Donato of Venice, sent forward by Urban in order to press the King for the surrendering of the principality of Capua to Francesco Prignano. Ciacconius, ii. 641; Chron. Sicul., 45, 46.

CASTLE OF THE CAJETANI AT FONDI.

One item of interest in Art-History must be recorded of this time. On account of his 'right happy and copious industry,' and the advancement of pictorial art by means of his talents, we learn the King appoints Roberto de Oderisio his master-painter, granting him an annual salary of thirty ounces of gold. It is to this master that, with considerable probability, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle[1] have ascribed the frescoes executed for Queen Joanna in the Church of St. Maria dell' Incoronata.[2] His style may be described as Giottesque on a miniature scale, and it can claim also a certain naïve originality; but little of his work remains.

On January 28th, Queen Joanna was removed from Naples to Nocera. Though there may have been some natural anxiety about the security of the royal prisoners, owing to the many attempts being made upon the coast by the aforesaid Provençal galleys, it certainly was of no little importance to the King to hold Queen Joanna securely. Within a few days of this event, too, he found cause to tighten the hitherto easy bonds of her niece, the Duchess of Durazzo;[3] while between these two events I find recorded the escape of Balthasar of Brunswick[4] and the Abbot of Cava, from the Castle of Capua. The fugitives were,

[1] Hist. of Painting in Italy.

[2] 'Queen Joanna I.,' by the author, p. 112, where reproductions of two of them may be examined. Also, Kugler's 'Italian Schools of Painting.' Edit. Layard. 1382. Vol. i. p. 95.

[3] Chron. Siculum, p. 44.

[4] He had wedded Jacobella, daughter of Onorato Cajetani, Count of Fondi, in presence of Queen Joanna and the French Cardinals. 'Queen Joanna I.,' p. 259.

however, discovered hiding in a pine-wood three months later, and the former of them was cruelly punished by the loss of his eyes[1] and a fresh incarceration in St. Elmo. These incidents, added to the escape of the Duke of Andria to Taranto, sufficiently account for the more stringent treatment of his royal captives by King Charles.

Of the Abbot of Monte-Cassino, we learn from Father Tosti[2] that he had already governed the great baronial monastery of St. Benedict for many years with martial rigour. He had been attached to Queen Joanna during her later troubles, as long as it was safe for one in his peculiar position to be. He had watched the struggle with Urban, rather more in sympathy with the Queen, his liege, than Urban could have approved, and had probably received with sorrow and annoyance Urban's former letter announcing her excommunication. On the other hand, his monastery had suffered severely from the soldiers in the pay of King Charles and Alberico da Barbiano, just as forty years before it had suffered from the Germans and Hungarians in the pay of King Louis of Hungary; but when Charles and Margaret passed by San Germano, at the foot of the mountain, the Abbot had taken advantage to make friends with them and show them over the historic pile. The King now appointed Di Tartaris, Chancellor of the realm, and gave his nephew, Raimondo, a valuable office at court.[3]

[1] Giorn. del Duca. 'Fe crepar l'occhi a Messer Baldassar . . . con un langetta de insagnar. . . .'

[2] Storia della Badia di Monte-Cassino, vol. iii. lib. 8.

[3] Registr. di Cancelleria di Carlo, iii. 358, fol. 324.

The Cardinal of Rieti[1] appears on the scene, together with Luigi Donato, Cardinal of Venice, and Niccolo, Cardinal of St. Cyriaco, in March[2] of this year, as ambassador from Urban in Rome. Their mission was, of course, to press the former demands of Urban.[3] Eight days later Queen Joanna was spirited away from Nocera to Muro; and it is not improbable this move was effected with a view to giving up Nocera and Scafate to Francisco Prignano, so as somewhat to appease Urban. The Cardinal of Rieti seems henceforward to have remained with the King as Legate at Naples. In May following, the King gave safe-conducts to two Nuncios sent by the said Cardinal to Rome. Later on, we shall find that prelate degraded by Urban as a consequence of his too pronounced partiality for the King, and still later, together with that monarch and the Abbot of Monte-Cassino, sharing Urban's vehement excommunication.

In Provence things did not proceed quite as smoothly as Louis of Anjou had been led to expect. While many cities sent their clerics and deputies to do homage and proffer him assistance, others, —Aix, Arles, and Tarascon,—calling to mind his former lawless depredations, openly refused him support.[4] Unable at present to compel their allegiance, he punished the first-named city by transferring her precious archives to Marseilles.

[1] Native of Bologna.

[2] 20th March 1382.

[3] Chron. Siculum, p. 45.

[4] Bouche, Hist. de Provence, tom. ii. pp. 403, 404. See also 'Queen Joanna I.,' p. 229.

For the rest, he trusted they would prove more tractable after he should have achieved the conquest in Italy in prospect. At the close of May, Clement actually crowned him King of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, at Avignon. Soon after arrived the
May 22, 1382. news of the violent death of Queen Joanna at Muro.

The Angevine forces, led into Italy by him, have been variously estimated; too often fabulously. It is probable they amounted to no more than 15,000 men. Conspicuous among those who held commands (or condotti) were Amadeo VI., Count of Savoy; Rudolf of Luxemburg, Count of Conversano; the Count of Geneva (brother of the Antipope); the Counts of St. Paul, Artois, and Soult, and not least, Tommaso San Severino. With these, Louis of Anjou crossed the Alps, and, favoured by his projected relationship with Bernabo Visconti, halted at Piacenza previous to his descent, *via* Ancona, into the Abruzzi. The Chronicler of Rimini wrote that he himself, and others with him, well used to the affairs of war, had never beheld so noble an army. People at Forli had made similar observations, as also did the citizens of Ancona. Nevertheless, the germs of a fatal epidemic were awaiting it at the roadsides, and the polished French swords, shine as terribly as they would, were finally degraded to discharge little more than the menial function of spades.

Early in September Louis reached Aquila,[1] which had revolted in his favour under Lallo Camponesco,

[1] Minieri Riccio, Codice Diplom., ii. p. 25.

Count of Montorio and Sant' Ilario, as far back as the previous March.[1] Here he remained thirteen days, receiving homage from rebel barons, and coining money bearing his own effigies as King of Naples. While he was there, an event of signal importance to this narrative was taking place in remote Hungary. Louis the Great, dying, left his vast kingdoms of Poland and Hungary to his two daughters, Hedwig and Mary, and a long and successful reign came to its close.

Charles, meanwhile, had not been idle. The walls and towers of Capua, Naples, and the other strongholds had been repaired and strengthened; ships had been built and equipped; moreover, Alberico da Barbiano, Cione da Siena,[2] and other experienced captains had been consulted, and a fleet of valiant Genoese, under command of Spinoli and Grimaldi, had arrived to his assistance for the better protection of the capital from the sea. Raimondello Orsini had now been made Captain-general in the eastern province of Bari, while a certain Villanuccio di Brunaforte, with an Italian company, called Dell' Uncino,[3] had undertaken the no small task of suppressing certain rebellious corners of other Adriatic provinces of the kingdom.

But more than upon all these forces, which amounted, perhaps, to about 8000 men, the King relied on the effect upon the hardy Frenchmen of the torrid Neapolitan summer. He was unaware

[1] Matteo Camera, p. 306. Chron. Siculum, p. 46.
[2] Archivio Storico Napol., anno. xii. fasc. ii. 406.
[3] Ibid., anno xii. fasc. i. pp. 25, 29.

at the time that the above-mentioned pestilence was also destined to be of assistance. In order to further harass his foe, he caused the peasants to bring all the grain and live-stock into Capua and Naples, thereby leaving the country practically bare of supplies. For the rest, he and his captains resolved to act entirely on the defensive, and thus to exasperate the enemy.

Meanwhile, though involved in quarrels with his Cardinals, and himself in considerable dread of Louis of Anjou, Urban had arranged with the Florentines (whom, on consideration of large sums, he had released from the terrible interdict of Gregory XI.) to send Sir John Hawkwood and his English archers to the aid of the King of Naples. When Louis knew of this, he sent word to France to plunder the Florentine merchants there.

Before the close of October 1382, Hawkwood, welcomed by Charles, arrived in time to learn that in a skirmish with the enemy near Caserta the Neapolitans had captured no less important personages than Bernardo and Pietro de la Salle and Count Francesco del Balzo, all of whom had come with the condotta of the Count of Savoy. These captains, however, contrived to make good their escape. Not so fortunate was Luigi, brother of Raimondo and Jacopo Caldora,[1] well-known condottieri on the Angevine side. Charles had him immediately beheaded at the Capuan Gate,[2] as an example; and thus the long desultory war began.

[1] Matteo Camera, p. 307. [2] Giornale del Duca.

CHAPTER III.

ERE the close of the eventful year 1382, we find King Charles pardoning Zurulo di Napoli,[1] Seneschal to the late Queen, and his children, who had been taken at the surrender of the Castelnuovo. This was another act of forbearance exhibiting the clemency which the King habitually practised under circumstances of exceptional difficulty; and I may here say boldly that the more the conduct of Charles of Durazzo towards Queen Joanna is observed, from such evidence as the Archives can reveal, the less justifiable appear to be the sweeping charges usually brought against him, and which have now become as conventional and unqualified as those brought against Queen Joanna herself.

That he dispossessed her of her realm in endeavouring to secure from alien hands the crown long promised to him by her in right of his wife,[2] was not so much a sin as a success. Nevertheless, sympathy must be with Queen Joanna. She became entangled,

[1] Archivio Storico Napol., anno xii. fasc. ii. p. 90.

[2] Margaret's elder sisters had each surrendered their rights to the throne on the occasions of their respective marriages. Their mother, Mary of Durazzo, by King Robert's will had been declared heiress to Queen Joanna, should the latter die childless. Archivio Storico Napol., anno ii. fasc. i. p. 151.

through no fault of her own, in the iron meshes drawn round her by the almost demoniac woman-hating Urban and the mother of Louis of Hungary, her old enemy. As a consequence, she sided with the French Antipope, Clement VII., an act which had resulted in her excommunication and declared dethronement by Urban, had thereupon reluctantly called Louis of Anjou to her aid, and thus desperately adopted for her heir a kinsman who had hitherto acted as the most despicable of her many foes.[1]

Charles having become deeply indebted to Louis of Hungary, who had steadfastly supported Urban, and had from of old hated Queen Joanna, and being threatened with loss of his promised kingdom if he refused to help himself to it, had no choice left but to do his best to possess it. How gently he used his hard-won victory has been already shown. In order to see how recklessly he has been traduced and vilified for so doing, one needs only to examine any chronicle, ancient or modern (save that of Donato degli Albanzani,[2] which, I believe, alone rightly excul-

[1] He had a few years previously laid waste portions of Provence without a shadow of a justification. Peace between them had been made by Gregory XI.

[2] 'Donato degli Albanzani-Aggiunte al libro de Claris Mulieribus.'—Boccaccio. In contrariety to the highly-inventive chroniclers, Boccaccio himself writes :—'Alcuni dicono, e queste più famosa opinione è tenuta vera, ch'ella morì naturalmente come la maggior parte degli uomini, essendo costretta d'infermita, e forse perchè ella non degna e non meritevole della sua infelice sorte, menossi al fine quasi come sdegnosa di vivere. Altri sparlando contro al re, come è d'uzanza de rei, hanno avuto ardire dire ch'ella fu avvelenata; la quale opinione dee parere vana e falsa, s'io guardo alla benignità di quello re contro a tutti i vinti da lui.'—De Claris Mulieribus.

pates him for the death of Queen Joanna). In further evidence of this I shall show how he liberates Otho of Brunswick after but two years of captivity.

Louis of Anjou, not succeeding in enticing his adversary to an open engagement, or in procuring sufficient supplies for his forces, soon found himself embarrassed at Benevento. Moreover, being obliged, for the latter cause, to despatch large divisions toward Bari and Taranto, and many of the rebel nobles having deserted him on pretence of defending their own territories, he was left with but 8000 men. In these awkward circumstances, he bethought himself of settling the difficulty by sending Amadeo of Savoy to Naples, to convey his personal challenge to King Charles.[1]

But the King had no favour for this inadequate mode of settlement, and saw in the challenge but a confirmation of the rumoured embarrassment of Louis. He, however, commissioned the authorities of Arpaia, Arienzo, and Maddaloni to lodge and supply four of his nobles, whom he deputed to accompany Amadeo and his knights in search of a befitting ground for the proposed duel. But, like the challenge of Charles I. of Anjou to Alphonso of Castile—like that of Luigi of Taranto to Louis of Hungary, this challenge resulted in no meeting of the principals, and on the 1st of March the gallant Amadeo having fallen

[1] Saggio di Codice Diplom., Minieri Riccio, vol. ii. pt. 1, p. 28, where are given in full two royal orders for the safe-conduct of the Count of Savoy and his guards while choosing a spot near Capua for the projected duel. Dated respectively 29th Jan. and 8th Feb. 1383.

ill, breathed his last at Castro San Stefano.[1] Louis, more and more perplexed, instead of attempting the projected siege of Capua, now resolved to retire to the fertile plains around Foggia. On his way thither an epidemic (apparently scarlet fever[2]) carried off the Count of Geneva and a large number of the troops. Charles, learning of his opportunity, fell upon the Angevine rearguard at Pietra-Catella, near the famous Caudine Forks; but though several were slain and captured on both sides, he gained no important advantage by this proceeding. Angelo Pignatello, a Neapolitan, fell into the hands of the enemy, and was taken to Louis of Anjou, at Ariano. Costanzo records that upon learning of the bravery displayed by Pignatello[3] in the action, Louis made him tempting offers for his services, but these, much to the royal chagrin, the prisoner resolutely refused. Thereupon Louis threatened him with death. To this cruel menace Pignatello replied he did not believe the Duke capable of perpetrating so unbecoming an act. Pleased with the adroit and chivalrous answer, Louis kept him on parole, and later on exchanged him for Francesco (or Raimondo) del Balzo.

Charles now saw with increasing satisfaction the difficulties besetting his enemy, and he posted squadrons around to threaten his main position. Crippled thus in all his endeavours by the ravages of an

[1] In Provincia Molisii, March 1, 1383.

[2] 'Una infermità estraordinaria, per la quale tutti scorticato à modo di serpi.'—Summonte, lib. iv. 487.

[3] Giornale del Duca. Chronicon Siculum.

epidemic, and in dread of the threatening failure of his campaign, Louis now summoned to his aid the services of Engherand, Lord of Coucy,[1] who had formerly distinguished himself as a valiant servitor of the Church in her struggles with the Visconti.[2] Accompanied by the Bishop of Beauvais and a number of illustrious knights, De Coucy responded to the call and came to Milan. Thence, greatly to the anxiety of the Florentines, he descended to Lucca. He had mischief in hand, and his designs were upon Arezzo, a city which had been practically over-lorded by the kingdom of Naples ever since the days of King Robert. De Coucy contrived to scale the walls of Arezzo and sack the city, after which he sold it to the Sienese for 20,000 fiorini.[3] The Florentines, later in the year, repurchased it from Siena for nearly double that sum.

All this cheap triumph and bluster, however, helped matters but little. The new French force poured down into the Abruzzi as a stream of lava destined to be lost in the sea. Fever and want destroyed it in a very short time. The crown of Naples, therefore, was no whit nearer the brows of Louis than it had been when he first

[1] Ammirato, Istoria di Firenze, lib. xv.

[2] Matteo Camera, Elucubrazioni Diplom., p. 313.

[3] Ammirato, Istoria di Firenze, lib. xv. In 1381 Arezzo had given itself to Charles, who accordingly sent some soldiers from Rome to represent his Seignorial powers. In consequence, however, of an outbreak of Ghibellinism in the city, these guardians 'cacciarono tutti dalla città, mettendo a sacco la medesima, e stuprando le nobile vergini e maritate, . . . e poscia presidiarono la città in nome di Carlo.'—Corio., tom. ii. 292.

crossed the Alps. He still had to content himself with desultory skirmishes, vainly endeavouring to engage a craftily impassive adversary, and with over-running the distracted Adriatic provinces of the kingdom.

Let me now pass to Urban and more closely inspect his relations with the King. It was clear enough that the latter had shown himself determined not to fulfil his promise of yielding Capua and Amalfi; but Urban had no intention whatever of foregoing his demands. Charles was himself feeling the heavy pressure of stagnated trade and the neighbourhood of a plundering foe. Urban, though he had hitherto assisted him so far as to obtain the services of Hawkwood, had not yet chosen to employ the full powers of the Church by preaching a crusade against Louis.

Urban now further perceived with extreme vexation the growing partiality of the Abbot of Monte-Cassino and the Cardinal of Rieti[1] for King Charles, and determined to go to Naples[2] and show that he considered himself alone master of the situation, and was not to be trifled with.

The Cardinals who were around Urban, fearing both the hardships and dangers of the journey through the mountains and the possible results of the expected wrath of the King, pleaded various excuses for not accompanying him. Some few managed to place themselves beyond immediate recall. Threats of actual deposition prevailed with the rest, to the number of seven, who,

[1] Chron. Siculum, p. 50.

[2] Fear of the plague at Rome contributed to give shape to his resolution.

leaving Palestrina, travelled with him, wearily and in fear, down from Ferentino and Frosinone to Monte Cassino, and thence to Sessa, which they reached on October 6.[1] No sooner had they arrived here than Urban instituted a formal process against five of them on a charge of aiding and abetting the King in his so-called contumacy. The result of this process was that he deprived the Cardinals of Rieti, Venice, Genoa, Salerno, and Pietramala of their hats.[2] Of these, Luigi Donato, Cardinal of Venice (or San Marco), was destined to an evil fate at Urban's hands, as we shall see befell him later on; while Mezzavacca, Cardinal of Rieti, had, fortunately for him, remained at Naples, and for that reason, though looked upon as the head and front of offending, was out of Urban's personal reach.

Soon hearing of the harsh treatment of the Cardinals, the Roman people, who had never loved Urban, wrote to him and to King Charles in favour of the unfortunate captives. The dogged Pontiff at first refused to receive their letter. The King, however, opened that addressed to him, and at once caused it to be read all over Naples.[3]

Let me note that there now arrived on the scene envoys from Elisabeth of Hungary, announcing that Mary, her second surviving daughter by Louis, had been crowned as 'King Mary.'[4]

[1] De Scismate, lib. i. xxix.

[2] Chron. Siculum, p. 50. Ciacconius, ii. 641.

[3] Chron. Siculum, p. 50.

[4] Feb. 2, 1383. Archivio Storico Napol., anno xii. fasc. ii. p. 193. Caterina, his first-born, for whom he had made a solemn contract in

Things now looked exceedingly black between Urban and the King. All Naples felt thunder was in the air, and awaited the Pope's coming with mingled awe and excitement. Before long the Papal procession was announced to be approaching Aversa, within a few kilometres of the capital; whereupon Urban resumed his pontifical vestments, while the townsfolk came forth to do homage and receive his benediction. Forewarned of the arrival of his enemy, the King had taken up his own lodging in the castle, and now, habited in simple black,[1] he rode with Ugo San Severino through the vineyards to meet him. The two presently entered the town, silent, side by side: a meeting, as both must have been keenly conscious, very different from their last.

Urban soon revealed his frame of mind by abruptly declining to lodge in the apartments prepared for him
Nov. 1383. by royal order at the Castle, and dismounted at the Episcopal Palace, close beside the Cathedral of St. Paul. The Palace, however, being unprepared for his accommodation, the King amiably caused all the necessaries to be brought from the Castle, and duly arranged for the Pontiff's comfort. This business completed, they partook of a repast together.[2] Afterwards,

1373–74 with Charles V. of France, in order that Louis of Orleans, that king's second son, should marry her and inherit the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, together with Provence, had died before the union could take place. Thus a far-reaching scheme, his and his mother's last, for reuniting the unrighteously severed Angevine thrones of Hungary and Naples, fell through, and Louis freely encouraged Charles to win Queen Joanna's throne. Archivio Storico Napol., anno ii. fasc. i. p. 108.

[1] For the deaths of two of the Queen's nearest relatives, Agnes del Balzo and Count Robert d'Artois.

[2] Gobelini, Persona in Cosmodrom, vi. 77.

Charles courteously entreated him on behalf of the Cardinals—especially on behalf of his personal friend, the Cardinal of Rieti. Urban impatiently refused to listen to him, and the King went away to the Castle. In the evening he returned, and once more endeavoured to move Urban, urging, moreover, that, in view of the great Schism, the treatment to which he was subjecting his own Cardinals was scandalising the whole Christian world. The Pope replied that it was no affair of the King's. Charles, indignant to the last degree, again returned to the Castle. The next day, being Saturday, and the eve of All-Saints Day, Charles made one last effort, but met with similarly annoying result. Urban went to say Vespers in the Duomo, while the King retired to the Castle as before, fully determined to make no further concession.[1]

Late in the evening, however, being thoroughly aroused to a sense of his offended dignity, the King sent Antonio de Afflitto, Tommaso de Marzano, Enrico Burgarelli, and Luigi d'Alemannia, with their followers, to the Palace. Arrived there, they knocked at the huge portal, and taking no notice of protesting porters and attendants, entered the Pope's sleeping-chamber. Thereupon, Afflitto, on his bended knees, in the King's name, implored Urban to pardon the Cardinals and forego his severe proceedings against them. Urban returned an ill answer, and declared that the King, by his conduct, was creating a still greater Schism. Then Marzano like- Nov. 1383.

[1] Chron. Siculum, p. 51.

wise reiterated the entreaty, equally in vain. Seeing the Pope inflexible, Burgarelli and Luigi d'Alemannia besought Urban to come to the King. Urban replied, 'It is contrary to custom that I should go to the King!' —to which they firmly rejoined, 'It needs then you *must* come!'—whereupon, whether he liked it or not, the one and the other lifted him on either side from his seat, and bodily carried him off to the Castle, where the King received him in a chamber with four torches burning at the corners, and therein he was set down.

Here these two men angrily eyed one another under the glare of the torches. Of the two, the master of himself was certainly not Urban. A grand moment, doubtless—full of terror to the few beholders, full of conquest and firm triumph for Charles, even if it lasted but five minutes! Gobelinus, one of Urban's apostolic secretaries, has told us that for three days Urban, cut off from advice or consolation, remained there in the Castle, 'much against his will.'[1] When we remember what that will was, the words are volumes. Urban for once gave in, and a peace of a certain kind was arranged between the two. There can be little doubt that Charles demonstrated to Urban the impossibility of his yielding Capua and Amalfi, and that he also obtained some temporary grace for the Cardinals.[2]

On the following Wednesday, Charles left Aversa for Naples in order to make ready for Urban's reception there, and to let the world be aware that at las there was peace betwixt Pope and King.

[1] Persona in Cosmodrom, vi. 77. [2] Chron. Siculum, p. 51.

De Niem,[1] another of Urban's secretaries, relates that during the stay at Aversa, being out with several comrades, he fell into the hands of brigands, who nearly killed him, and that before his actual release (which, however, was a prompt one) his life was further endangered by the gruesome condition of his wounds.[2] In consequence, he reached Naples before his master, and the citizens there, learning his personal importance, anxiously pressed him for news as to the advent of Urban, informing him also it was rumoured the Pope was the King's prisoner. De Niem avers that the Cardinals had done their utmost to patch up the old quarrel between Charles and Urban. At any rate, they came to Naples, and were there regarded as having been received into grace. Their hour, indeed, was not yet come!

On the eighth day after his arrival at Aversa, Urban set out the remaining few miles to Naples. Finally, at the Capuan Gate he confronted King Charles, sitting upon his throne,[3] and robed as a deacon of the Church in a dalmatic of golden tissue, holding in his left hand the sceptre, and in his right a golden lily. Charles waited until the Pope drew nigh, then rose up and kissed his foot, while Urban, duly fulfilling customary formalities, dismounted and kissed him on the forehead. Thereupon, taking the Papal bridle, Charles led the remounted Pontiff as

[1] De Scismate, i. xxix.
[2] 'Jam vermiculare seu putrescere inceperunt.'—Ibid.
[3] Summonte, Istoria di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 483.

far as the steps of San Stefano, when the Pope bade him likewise be remounted. Forthwith, preceded by nine Cardinals, they rode together to the great gate of Castelnuovo, the citizens all the way testifying their pleasure by displaying at their windows abundance of embroidered linen, tapestry, and flowers.

The Pope, doubtless awed by the presence of the soldiers, though expressing his desire to lodge at the Archiepiscopal Palace, yielded to the command of the King and Queen, and accordingly lodged at the Castelnuovo, where, at a later hour, both of them visited him.[1] It is certain that, although magnificently entertained, behind those royal towers Urban regarded himself a prisoner. He had learned an astonishing lesson, and unquestionably looked upon King Charles in a more respectful light. He may have, for once in his life, felt actually terrified by something in the unshrinking audacity of Charles, which perhaps recalled all too vividly the traditionally calm manner of his ancestor, the famous executioner of Conradin. Nevertheless, Urban did not intend to forego his old claims; on the contrary, he resolved to renew them, though in a more tactful and reasonable manner.

How far the King really acceded to the desires of Urban, in order to gain to his side the ecclesiastical thunderbolts, it is difficult to determine. But Nocera and Scafate were certainly given up to Francesco Prignano, his nephew; while, in return, Urban as certainly promised to proclaim a crusade against

[1] Giornale del Duca.

Louis of Anjou. Thereupon he was permitted to leave the Castle and take up his abode in the palace of Archbishop Bozzuto.[1] Dec. 16, 1383.

Having, upon the whole, gained no small advantage, despite the changed aspect of his relations with Charles, Urban now fortified himself still further by contriving that two of his nieces[2] should marry, respectively, Giovanni, Count of Artois, and Matteo di Celano, Lord of Isola, and he persuaded the King and Queen to grace the double ceremony with their presence.

De Niem is our sole authority for the incident now to be related affecting the character of Francesco Prignano, the Pope's nephew, concerning the advancement of whom Urban had shown such fretful and energetic anxiety. But although De Niem's account is circumstantial enough to convince one of the probability of his story, it should be borne in mind that his narrative, wherever this Francesco is referred to, bears the impress of acute personal animosity;[3] moreover, familiarity with De Niem's writing has convinced me of his frequent inaccuracies of date and statement, which give portions of his narrative the appearance of having been dressed up considerably after the events it deals with had taken place.

'Butillo (otherwise, Francesco) Prignano, Prince of Capua, entered by force the convent (of San Salvatore), and abducted one of the most beautiful

[1] Giornale del Duca. Costanzo, Istoria di Napoli.
[2] Chron. Siculum, p. 54. Cizula and Cicella Prignano.
[3] De Scismate, edit. Georg Erler, author's note, p. 64.

and nobly-born of the nuns. This affair threw the whole city into an uproar; and the magistrates having complained to the King of the outrage, the King sent them to the Pope. But the latter, though he was most austere as regarded himself, was over-indulgent in the extreme toward his own relatives, and he answered them that it was no great matter, the Prince, his nephew, having been spurred on by his youth—(although the said Prince was already past forty years of age).'[1]

The King is said to have pronounced the culprit worthy of death, and directed to have him sent for trial; but Urban took occasion to inform the King that in such a case his own authority must be considered paramount. At any rate, the culprit was set at liberty.[2]

This scandal was immediately followed by the marriage of the said Francesco (Butillo) to the niece of Carluccio Ruffo di Montalto, Chief Justiciary
1384. of the realm; which ceremony was likewise honoured by the royal presence.[3]

On the first of the new year, Urban celebrated solemn mass in the presence of most of the notables of Naples, after which he declared Louis, Duke of Anjou, Charles, King of France, and the other Royal Dukes of that realm, rebels and heretics, promising plenary indulgence to all who should take

[1] As Erler points out in his edition of De Scismate, none of the other contemporary writers mention this story, the truth of which is certainly to be doubted.

[2] De Scismate, Theo. de Nyem. Lipsiæ, 1890, pp. 63, 64.

[3] 1st January 1384.

up arms against them. He then proceeded to create King Charles Gonfalonier of the Holy Church, and blessed the standard which the King held.

The following three months, therefore, were spent in active preparations for a fresh development of the struggle. But in spite of increased taxation and promises of financial aid from the Pope, Charles found himself more and more at a loss for money. Meanwhile, Urban was quietly sapping the resources of the Church at Naples for his own purposes, just as he had formerly done at Rome—turning plate, jewels, and ornaments into cash. The King finally had to resort to the desperate measure of plundering the storehouses of the foreign merchants.[1] In due course, this brought upon him the retaliation of the Genoese, Pisan, and Venetian Republics; the latter later on seizing upon Durazzo (Dyrrachium), on the Dalmatian coast, from the possession of which the King's grandfather had first taken his ducal style and title.[2]

Early in April Charles set forth from Naples at the head of an army disposed in three divisions, under the respective banners of the Church and the realm. A crowd of captains held commands in it, while Cardinal Landolfo Marramaldo[3] accompanied

[1] Matteo Camera, p. 320; also Costanzo and Summonte.

[2] 'Queen Joanna I.,' by the author, p. 150; also Buchon, Recherches Historiques. Finlay, Hist. of Greece.

[3] Marramaldo himself later on fell into disgrace with Urban, being suspected of pandering to Charles. Unable, however, to lay hands upon him, Urban declared him deprived of his Cardinalate, the Archbishopric of Bari, and every other dignity held by him. After Urban's death in 1389, Boniface IX. restored him to his dignities, and

Urban now resolved to take advantage of the King's absence to get himself and his following well out of Naples, and take up his residence at Nocera with his nephew. He had perhaps intended more important breaches of his agreement; but Charles, ere his departure for the seat of war, had taken the precaution to leave powerful garrisons in the chief towns. Furious on discovering the dexterous forethought of his rival, the Pope and his Cardinals made their way to Nocera beyond Castellamare.

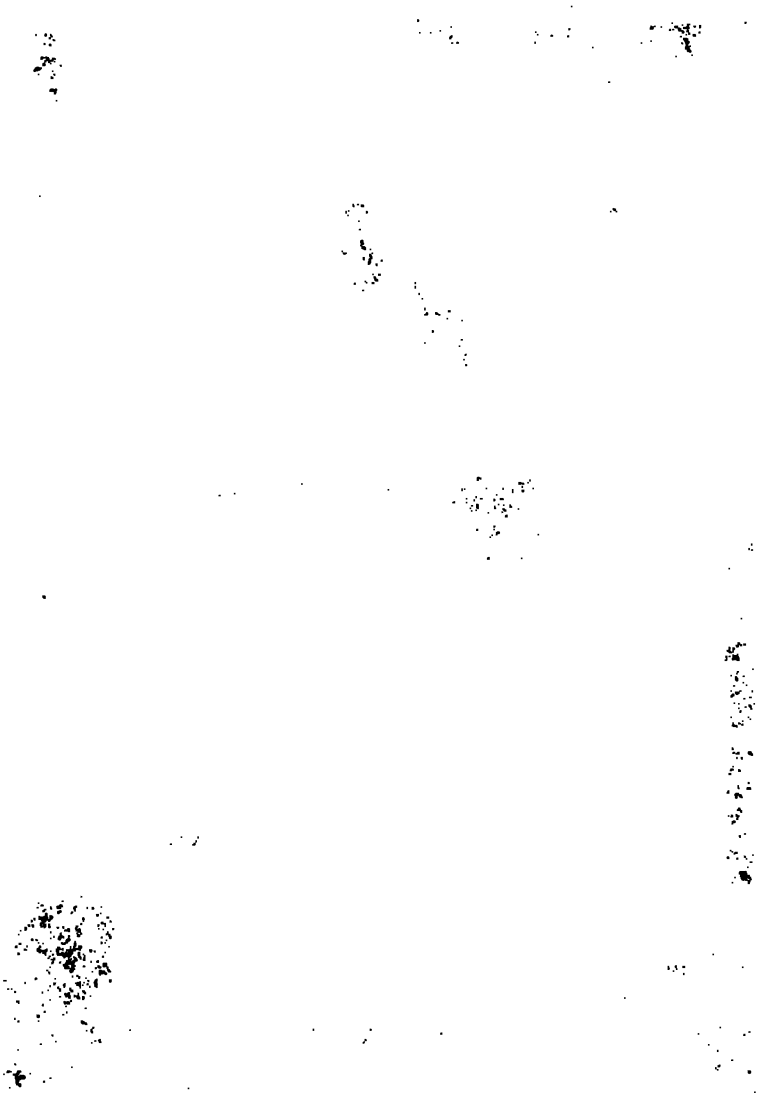
Looking upon this move as a flagrant breach of the compact between them, Queen Margaret promptly protested. Finding her protest unavailing, she issued an edict sternly forbidding any one under pain of death to supply Urban with provisions. Accordingly, De Niem tells us that salt could not be procured at Nocera, and Urban 'vehementer indoluit, asserens talia fieri in ejus contumeliam et despectum.'[1]

The war dragged on through the summer months in contemptible languor, more distinguished even by cowardly raids on defenceless towns than by casual skirmishes. The only noteworthy episode occurring in the neighbourhood of Naples was that the Count of Caserta together with Bernardo de la Salle attacked Castello Casoria, and scoured the vicinity, killing, burning, and plundering.

The condition of the French army by this time had become deplorable in the extreme. With the

[1] 'Sal quandoque per dies aliquos nec prece nec pecunia pro condimento suorum cibariorum possent habere.'—De Scismate, p. 10.

A TOMB OF THE FALCONE FAMILY AT BISCEGLIA.



heat of August, disease had broken out afresh. Louis of Anjou was actually reduced to wearing garments painted merely to represent armour;[1] while his half-naked knights could not be restrained from sacking even the friendly towns. King Charles himself now fell ill of the epidemic, but fortunately recovered.[2] The Queen despatched a well-provisioned fleet to his aid at Barletta,[3] but eight ships out of the twelve were wrecked in a storm.

It is related that Louis, while endeavouring to restrain the valour of his chivalry, who were looting the friendly town of Bisceglia,[4] took fever, of which he died on September 21st, in the forty-seventh year of his age. 1384.

The French army, now decimated by disease and desertion, was likewise leaderless, and forthwith did its best to make its way out of Italy. Juvenal des Ursins[5] narrates: 'Having placed the King in a leaden coffin, with such obsequies as could be devised, nobles and knights made for France in sore straits, and very pitiful was it to see them, each one staff in hand; and all the chivalry which Louis had gotten out of France was wasted—an example, indeed, for princes not to undertake enterprises they understand not to carry through.'

[1] 'N'avait qu'une cotte d'armes de toiles peinte seulement.'—Juvenal des Ursins. This, however, was not very unusual. The lighter leather armour was often thus decorated.

[2] De Niem, lib. i. xxxv.

[3] Archiv. Stor. Nap., anno xii.

[4] Chron. di Rimini, tom. xv. R. I. Sc.

[5] Hist. Charles VI.

CHAPTER IV.

1384. BEING restored to health, and his anxieties as to the tactics of the Duke of Anjou being ended by that adversary's death, Charles and his captains returned to Naples in time to celebrate the Feast of St. Martino, and were received with great jubilation by the populace.

But no sooner had the horizon on one side of him become clear than clouds arose upon the other. Learning of Urban's defiant departure, and of his sojourn at Nocera, the King sent special envoys to remind him of their former agreement, and begging him to return, in order that together they might give their attention to the very critical state of affairs. Feeling himself secure in Nocera, which his nephew had freshly fortified, Urban now allowed his resentment full sway, and replied through the envoys that if the King desired to confer with him, it was his place to come to Nocera, and not for the Sovereign-Pontiff to go to Naples;[1] moreover, that if Charles wished to retain his goodwill at all, he must, without delay, abate the taxes under which the kingdom was absolutely groaning.

[1] Giornale del Duca, in Muratori, R. I. Sc. Raynaldus, Annal. Eccles.

Fully perceiving the tenor of these replies from his old enemy, the King now returned him ominous answer, that if he should have indeed to go to Nocera, it would be at the head of his army; that the kingdom was his by right of his Queen and by force of his own arms; furthermore, that to Urban he was indebted for no more than the mere formal words of investiture.

In the middle of December Urban created eighteen new cardinals, of whom no less than six were natives of Naples. By this measure he obviously looked for two very desirable results—namely, that his former cardinals should lose all the force or influence they had gained by cohesion among themselves, and that he himself should recover the popularity he had lost during his stay at Naples.

De Niem incidentally gives us an attractive account of the beauty and resources of the neighbourhood of Nocera in those distant days, though he naïvely avers that what with the brigands and 'malandrini' who haunted the mountains above it (Chiunzo and St. Angelo), and the Catalan pirates who infested the coast around, no one could be considered safe without a strong bodyguard. For fear of these gentry, several of the Cardinals on one occasion fled to Naples; but, with the exception of the Cardinal of Rieti, they were soon persuaded to return. A party of Papal courtiers and servants, while on their way to Naples, were beset at Castellamare and actually carried off to sea. Our author states that oranges, lemons, and pomegranates

throve in the gardens, and that the mountain-flanks were clothed with magnificent chestnut-woods, which sheltered innumerable boars and stags, 'which, in former days, Duke Otho used to hunt.'[1]

Raynaldus, the Papal historian, has hinted that Pietro de Tartaris, Abbot of Monte-Cassino, was an ambitious prelate, who, on the demise of Gregory XI., had himself aspired to the chair of St. Peter; and further, that in the possible event of the deposition of Urban, he now welcomed a fresh chance of his elevation to that supreme dignity.[2] Certain it is that
P. 22. the Abbot was created Chancellor of the kingdom of Naples, and, together with the Cardinal of Rieti and a certain Naccarello Dentice, had become one of the most familiar advisers of the King and Queen. This was more than sufficient to draw upon him the wrath and hatred of Urban.

Conscious of the great scandal caused by the reopening of the quarrel betwixt Pope and King, the elder Cardinals again entreated Urban to forego his anger and effect a reconciliation—at any rate, until he should return to Rome. Their good offices were thrown away. Finding Urban implacable, in conjunction with the Cardinal of Rieti, they engaged the services of Bartolino da Piacenza,[3] a dexterous

[1] De Niem also mentions a chamber, presumably in the Castle of Nocera, in which he saw a portrait of Duke Otho. Lib. i. xxxiv. and De Scism., xl.

[2] At the period of Urban's election to the Papacy, some had called out that the vote had fallen on the Abbot of Monte-Cassino.

[3] De Niem, De Scismate. Gobelinus, Persona in Cosmod., vi.

canonical lawyer, who, under their combined and secret supervision, framed for them a certain significant interrogatory, the tenor of which went to show that if, by conduct unbecoming the majesty of his office, a reigning Pope should recklessly compromise the welfare of the Church or the well-being of the Sacred College, it became the duty of the Cardinals to exercise forcible control over him, to give him a coadjutor, or even to elect another Pontiff in his room.

Whether the conspiracy actually went further than the adoption of these measures, and whether, as Gobelinus declares (from evidence wrung by torture), the Cardinals were prepared to make Urban prisoner, try him in the Church of San Francesco, and whatever answers he might make, take and burn him as a heretic, it is impossible to determine. In any case, a traitor was amongst them. Seeking, mayhap, to save himself from the terrible consequences of its possible failure, Tommaso Orsini, Cardinal di Manupello, secretly informed Urban of the conspiracy contemplated against him.[1]

On the 11th January 1385, Urban held a Consistory,[2] in which in a tempest of wrath he branded the Cardinals and the Bishop of Aquila with treachery, degraded them, and commanding his guards to seize their persons, loaded them with

[1] 'Accedens secrete ad ipsum Urbanum sibi hæc omnia revelavit.'—De Niem, xlii.

[2] Chron. Siculum, p. 55.

chains,[1] at the same time appropriating all the goods they had with them at Nocera. They were forthwith thrown into dungeons in the keeps of the old castle, in some of which so limited was the space, the captive was unable to sit down.[2] The victims were seven in number, namely, the truculent Gentile di Sangro, Luigi Donato, Cardinal of Venice; Giovanni, Cardinal-Archbishop of Corfu; Adam Aston, of Hertford, Cardinal of S. Cecilia; the Cardinal of Genoa; the Cardinal-Archbishop of Taranto, and Stefano Sidonio (?), Bishop of Aquila —all of them, remarks Muratori, conspicuous for their attainments in the Sacred College; moreover, most of them bordering on old age, if they had not, like the Bishop of Aquila, already attained it. The now totally ruined citadel of Nocera dei Pagani, in which the tragedy about to be related took place, crowns a steep, but not abrupt, declivity close to the town. In it had occurred many events of historical importance. The young and beautiful Helena, widow of Manfred, died within its walls after five years of captivity. A little later died there Beatrice of Provence, first Queen of Charles of Anjou. In 1275 was born in it Louis (afterwards canonised), Bishop of Toulouse. Luigi of Taranto, second husband of Queen Joanna I., was vainly besieged within it by Conrad Wolff, one of the German captains of

[1] 'Catenis onustis in corporibus.'—De Niem.

[2] De Niem says of the dungeon occupied by Cardinal di Sangro, 'vix potuit extendere pedes suos.'—De Scismate, p. 83.

Louis of Hungary. Lastly, we have seen Queen Joanna herself a two-months captive therein.

Urban now commanded his nephew, Francesco, and a knight of St. John called Basilius of Genoa,[1] to torture the Bishop of Aquila. The aged and unhappy martyr was dragged from his dungeon to a room, in which had been arranged the corda and the rack. He was then stripped of his shirt and placed upon the rack. After fainting several times from his torments, and being as constantly revived by the attendants, his moral strength gave way under the strain, and he is believed to have made the confession above stated, which inculpated the other victims.

News of this violent proceeding reaching Naples, Queen Margaret at once caused to be seized the two lately married nieces of Urban,[2] and imprisoned them in Castelnuovo. On the following day, it being January 14th, Basilio received the Pope's command to torture the Cardinals. The first of these was Gentile di Sangro, who had so distinguished himself by his ferocity against the Clementists at Naples after the downfall of Queen Joanna. De Niem (who was present) says the miserable man, who was corpulent,[3]

[1] De Niem endeavours to make him out a common pirate. 'Insignis pirata nacione Januensis.' But see Chronicon Siculum, p. 54, note 7, where it is shown by De Blasiis that Basilius had been made a Cavalier of the Order by Urban in December previous, in presence of the King and Queen, and with great pomp and ceremony.

[2] Chron. Siculum, p. 54.

[3] 'Qui fuit vir etatis mature, corpulentus et longe stature.'—De Scismate, lib. i. li.

was first stripped to his shirt,[1] fastened by ropes, and hoisted by means of a pulley from the ground to a certain height, and then suddenly let fall. This operation was repeated three times in succession. The same witness avers that Francesco Prignano stood by laughing[2] at the agonies of the ungainly sufferer; but that himself (De Niem), being scarce able to endure the scene, entreated Di Sangro to confess:—'Do you not see, father, that these fiends wish to have your life? For Christ's sake, say something, and free yourself from them!' To which the Cardinal muttered: 'I have nothing to confess. The Lord is just. It is my due for having dealt so hardly with the partisans of Queen Joanna and Clement at Naples.'

The next victim was Luigi Donato, the Cardinal of Venice.[3] Urban commanded Basilio to rack him till his cries should be heard by him as he meditated in the castle-garden beneath. He was subjected to the same process as Di Sangro had been, and re-tormented at intervals during the day. At every pang, the wretched man gasped out passion-

[1] 'Femoralibus et camisia vix relictis, et strictissime in eisdem funibus per ipsos carnefices ligabatur.'—De Scismate, lib. i. li.

[2] 'Stans immoderate ridebat.'—Ibid.; Gobelinus, Pers. Cosm., 78.

[3] 'Et dum veniremus ad locum, in quo dictus Cardinalis Venetus tenebatur inclusus, eum exinde dictus Basilius traxit necnon ad quandam aulam dicte arcis usque perduxit, quem vestibus, quibus indutus erat, denudavit et in funibus in altum suspensis ad terram usque pendentibus satis stricte ligavit, et licet esset fractus, morbosus et senex ac valde debilis complexionis, tamen de mane usque ad prandii horam in eculeo assidue ac crudelissime eum tormentavit.'—De Scismate, i. lii.

ately: 'Christ suffered for us!'—and Urban halted a moment in his walk, grunted satisfaction, and went on reading the Holy Office.

'Then,' says our witness, 'hating to see further cruelties, I obtained leave from Conrad, the governor of the castle, to take some recreation beyond the walls, which, upon my promising to return soon, I obtained.' However, he thought little of his promise, and lay hiding in the town, whither, after a while, the confederates of Basilio were sent to bring him back. De Niem relates that he succeeded in persuading them likewise to flee.

The rest of the Cardinals underwent similar torments.[1] On the 15th, the Pope made men bring materials and construct a platform over the chief gate of the castle, whereon his chair was to be placed. This being accomplished, he took his seat there, attended by six other Cardinals, clad in full pontificals. He then caused the Bishop of Florence to read aloud to the assembled folk below an interdict to be launched by him against 'King Charles and his consort, Queen Margaret; against Orsini, Count of Nola; against the Abbot of Monte-Cassino, and the Count of Montalto, the Chief Justiciary; against Villanuccio de Brunaforte, and against all in their several services respectively, and against all those named in his interdict formerly pronounced against Queen Joanna.'

This being concluded, Urban took in his hand

[1] Chron. Siculum, p. 55; De Sciamate, liii.

a torch, each of the Cardinals doing likewise, and thundered anathema and excommunication, at the same time granting indulgence for seven years to those who attended there to hear him. Whereupon he and they threw their torches upon the ground. This ceremony was afterwards daily repeated.

On the 18th, Urban held a public consistory, in which the Cardinal of Genoa first, and the other captives in succession, were made to ratify all that the first-named had privately confessed, to the effect that he and they had conspired with the King and Queen, with the Cardinal of Rieti and Villanuccio, to seize the Pope's person on the 20th of the same month in consistorial council, to put him to death, and in his place elect the said Cardinal of Rieti. They then fell upon their knees and implored Urban for mercy, inasmuch as they were prepared to noise it abroad throughout the world that they had acted by the prompting of the devil. Urban was almost moved to pity. 'His face,' says De Niem, 'up till that moment burned like a lamp with fury.' The Cardinals were, however, remitted to prison.

On the 22nd, royal troops appeared at the gates of Nocera, killing every one they intercepted; and ere the close of the month Count Tommaso di Marzano and Villanuccio, with the rest of the King's forces, arrived in order to commence the siege. The difficulties, however, of provisioning the troops, together with the peculiar nature of the stronghold besieged, soon brought about a relaxed state of

operations, to which perhaps the superstitious awe in which ordinary soldiers held excommunication in those days not a little contributed.[1]

On the 19th February, however, twelve members from the University of Naples came on an embassy to Nocera, avowedly to bring the scandalous deadlock betwixt Urban and the King to an end. These well-meaning persons left their horses with Villanuccio de Brunaforte before entering the castle. They then made due reverence to the Pope, who at once told them that if they wished to speak with him, they must be very careful not to mention Charles of Durazzo. Obtaining no concessions from the Pope, they left him with sorrowful countenances, and slept that night in the garden of the castle, 'whither Basilio of Genoa sent them three beds.'[2]

On the 21st, having caused the great hall to be made ready for celebrating mass, Urban sent for the said ambassadors and much other people, and then, sitting in pontifical state with six of his Cardinals, he caused the Bishop (of Florence) to celebrate; and when the Gospel was finished, Urban personally related all the evil-doings of the King toward him, after which he made one bring him a document containing the confession of the deposed Cardinals, their signatures and seals; but as all, save the Cardinal of Corfu, had lost their seals, each had made use of the one remaining seal. After this document had been read aloud, he began to have read over his indictment of the King

[1] Chron. Siculum, p. 56. [2] Ibid.

and Queen and the others. Then the envoys rose up declaring they had not come to hear indictments, but to endeavour to make peace. Urban responded, 'We will, and command you to be seated, and to listen to the said process!' They returned him answer, 'Your Holiness does us wrong, and we listen upon compulsion.'

Then, while the interdict was being read, the Pope and the six Cardinals held burning torches in their hands, and after it was done, they threw them upon the ground. Thereafter the Pope took his repast and the envoys retired to the garden. A little later Urban sent for them again, and after much talk said: 'Charles has robbed our nephew, Francesco, of his patrimonies; and we take away from him not only his kingdom, but all his rights whatsoever!' He spoke further in private with them, and then permitted them go forth and down into Nocera, where Villanuccio gave them back their horses and servants, and forthwith they returned to Naples.

Three days later the King held an assembly composed of numbers of citizens from Capua and Nido, besides those of the capital, together with the envoys; on which occasion, he caused to be shown three letters in the writing of the Pope, which had just fallen into his hands. The first to the traitor Raimondello Orsini, the next was to Feulo Citrolo, and the last was to a notorious pirate, Francesco di Lettere.[1] In them Urban related that he had received ambassadors from

[1] Lettere is at the foot of Monte Sant' Angelo, to the rear of Castellamare.

the city of Naples, who had told him that if he would come thither with an army, they themselves were prepared to deliver up Naples to him; on which account he urges Raimondello and the others to hasten to his assistance with their proffered troops.

When the reading of this letter was ended, the King rose and said to the assembly, 'I am certain that this is a lie devised by the Pope, in order to bring about a quarrel betwixt ourselves and our subjects of the State of Naples.'

The next night (says the author of the *Chronicon Siculum*) the port of Naples was visited by a Catalan and a Capriote galiot for purposes of plunder. Finding nothing of value among the boats there, they used filthy language and went off to Castellamare, where they burned a ship. Thence they set sail for Gaëta, meeting on the way with an armed galiot belonging to Amalfi, laden with grain, which they captured.

On the 5th of March we find Raimondello Orsini, Francesco de la Rath, Count of Caserta, and that relapsed rebel, Charles d'Artois, with four hundred lances, making a diversion at Afragola, on the north side of Naples, and falling in with the troops of the King under Jacobello Stendardo. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which many were killed and wounded. Satisfied with this move, only five days later, the said Raimondello and his colleagues, appearing behind Nocera, encamped at Casolla, and so effected a junction with Urban and his nephew.

Next day the King sent Alberico da Barbiano and Villanuccio back to Sarno, near Pompeii, with orders to mobilise all the male inhabitants of the Duchy of Amalfi, to collect forage and regularly besiege Nocera. Collisions soon occurred, but being unable to engage in open fight with the royal forces, the Papal troops kept to the castle, and endured showers of stones from the enemy's slingers. In the night, however, Francesco Prignano effected his escape from Nocera and reached Scafate, four miles nearer to Castellamare, and shut himself therein, while Charles d'Artois and the Count of Caserta went back in a semicircle toward Caserta. Raimondello, suffering from an arrow-wound in the foot,[1] was obliged to remain within the castle.

Alberico, hearing of the escape of Francesco Prignano to Scafate, moved forward so as to surround that little stronghold. After a fortnight's siege, Francesco was delivered over to him, with the town, for 4000 florins, by the Papal stipendiaries. On the 27th April, therefore, Alberico conducted his prisoner to Naples, where he was straightway committed to the Castello dell' Ovo.

Two further embassies from Naples to Nocera took place in the month of May, without effecting any improvement whatever in the situation. There now arrived, however, envoys from the Republic of Genoa, who obtained audiences of King Charles at Naples, and afterwards of the Bishop of Florence on behalf of

[1] Gobelinus, Persona Cosmod., vi. 78.

the Pope, at Castellamare. Pileus de Prato, Cardinal of Ravenna and legate at Corneto, likewise used his best endeavours to bring about an agreement. He was requited by becoming suspected of entertaining ill intentions toward Urban.

Early in June preparations for a more vigorous attack on Nocera being completed, the King caused to be proclaimed at the sound of the trumpet that 10,000 florins would be given to any who should deliver Urban alive into his hands, adding that any found abetting his escape from Nocera would be treated as rebels and forthwith executed. Then appeared upon the scene the martial Abbot of Monte-Cassino, who took much pains in directing the huge catapults erected for bombarding the castle.[1] He is related to have captured several partisans of the Pope and to have put them to terrible deaths, while a certain spy, upon whose person was found a letter from Raimondello Orsini, was placed in one of the said catapults and slung to death into the castle.

Early in the following month Raimondello Orsini and Tommaso San Severino, at the head of a band of Bretons and Gascons, managed to put to flight the Abbot[2] and his troops (perhaps by a night surprise), and effected entrance to the castle in order to succour the Pope. Urban received them with transports of joy, moderated later by having to pay them 10,000

[1] 'Erectis machinis bombardis que oppositis ingentia saxa emittentibus.'—Gobel., vi. 78.

[2] 'Subito fugit de obsidione et salvavit se in Castro Mare de Stabia, et deinde Neapoli cum tota comitiva sua.'—Chron. Sicul.

florins for their trouble, and to present Raimondello with the goodly town of Benevento.[1]

Setting out next day with his prisoners and secretaries, Urban rode by way of Materdomini eastward to San Severino, and thence turned southward to Gifoni,[2] where he rested several days. Two incidents of note occurred by the wayside. Some skirmishers belonging to the enemy (or quite possibly to their friends) captured two of the Pontifical mules laden too heavily with treasure. The old Bishop of Aquila, by reason of the anguish of his tortured limbs, lingered behind the rest, for which cause Urban brutally ordered his attendants to despatch him,[3] which was done there and then, and his body was left by the roadside for the wolves and ravens. The other reverend martyrs are said to have been conducted almost naked, tightly strapped under the bellies of their horses.[4]

Meanwhile, Antonietto Adorno, Doge of Genoa, to whom Urban had previously sent urgent entreaties that he would furnish him ten armed galleys, having perceived it would be an excellent thing for the Republic to have the Supreme Pontiff residing in its midst, despatched them, and they had just arrived in the Bay of Naples.[5] From Gifoni the Pope made a

[1] Some of the leading citizens of this town, at the period of Urban's election to the Pontificate, had adhered to Clement. Mem. Storia de Benevento v. Borgia.

[2] Summonte, Istoria di Napoli, tom. ii. lib. iv. p. 490.

[3] De Scismate, lvi. [4] Chron. Sicul., p. 61.

[5] Giornale del Duca.

brief visit to Benevento, and returned thither on August 3rd. The galleys, receiving messages from him, now sailed toward Sicily, and passing round the southern coast, made for Barletta on the Adriatic. Urban, led by Raimondello Orsini, now struck eastward across the mountains to Lacedonia and Minerbino,[1] and finally was received on board in solemn style by the Genoese admiral. August 19.

At midnight the galleys sailed for Messina, whence Urban issued a fresh interdict against the King. Sailing northward, they nevertheless touched at Castellamare, and sent envoys to King Charles, begging him to give up to the Genoese the nieces of the Pope, the Papal registers left at Nocera, and the lately created Cardinals, who were now in Naples.[2] Sept. 7, 1385.

The King only surrendered the captive ladies, and the Papal galleys weighed for Corneto.[3]

Thus was concluded one more phase of the struggle of Church and State in Naples, leaving the advantage, as may be noted, decidedly with the latter.

[1] Gobelin., Persona Cosmod., vi.
[2] Chronicon Siculum, p. 62.
[3] Gobelin., Persona Cosmod., vi. 80.

CHAPTER V.

IT now becomes necessary to turn attention to the affairs of Hungary, which, since the death of King Louis in 1382, had been in a very unsettled state. Failing male issue, his second daughter, Mary, had been accepted and crowned by the Magyars under the style of King Mary.[1] Nevertheless, an influential party among them insisted that the crown was hereditary in the male line only; and, as had been foreseen by King Louis, this party now wished to offer it to Charles, King of Naples.[2] Yet, even on this ground, Charles could show no actual right to the throne, seeing that his great-uncle, Charles Martel, had been made King of Hungary solely by election. The crown, therefore, could be considered to descend legitimately to his own descendants, but by no means to the side branches of the entire House of Anjou. There were special circumstances, however, in the former relations between King Charles III. and the kingdom of Hungary which made it not unnatural that a warlike people, who

[1] Maria Rex, Sept. 17, 1382.

[2] Geschichte von Hungarn, Ignaz. A. Fessler, vol. ii. pp. 239–241; Thuróczy, Chronica III. de Carolo Parvo; Bonfinius, Hist. Hungar.

detested the idea of female government, and with whom Mary's future husband, Sigismund, was by no means popular, should look very favourably toward him. He had lived among them by the pressing invitation of King Louis; and while there, not only had he learned the arts of war, but had conspicuously distinguished himself both in public tournament and as a commander in the great Venetian war. Moreover, in arranging the subsequent terms of peace, he had gained the ill-befitting sobriquet of 'Della Pace.' Louis had lived to realise the danger to his heiress and successor likely to arise from the popularity of his young kinsman and quasi-adoptive son, and had therefore caused him to swear he would not aspire to the crown of Hungary in the event of his own decease. But when that event actually came to pass in September 1382, the want of an able and energetic ruler was acutely felt in the realm, and in Charles of Durazzo the people naturally recognised by far the most eligible personage for king. In a thriving military kingdom, so powerful that its aid or alliance was now being continually sought both by the Popes and monarchs of the West in their struggles with one another, and by the Emperors of the East in their struggles against the all-prevailing Turk, it was felt to be a matter of absolute necessity to possess a military ruler. Out of mingled regret and respect for their great King, however, the Magyars had already crowned Mary, who was betrothed to Sigismund of Bohemia,—second son of the late Emperor Charles

IV., and brother of the reigning Wenceslaus. Be it observed, also, that during the latter years of her father's life Mary had been governing Poland for him; and the Poles, by race, language, and traditions vitally opposed to the Magyars, had definitely refused to be ruled by the acknowledged female sovereign of the latter people. Among other significant circumstances, they perceived that Mary would no longer be able to live among them, but would be compelled to reside in Hungary. The Queen-mother, Elisabeth, had attempted a solution of this difficulty by offering her elder daughter, Hedwig, to them for their Queen, whom, indeed, they ultimately accepted.

During the three years that had elapsed, therefore, since the death of King Louis, Mary and her mother, by the aid of Nicholas Garay, Ban of Zara, had, in spite of frequent outbursts of discontent, managed to hold their own; and as King Charles had been entirely absorbed in the critical affairs of Naples, they saw little to fear from the limited opposition which favoured him calling him to the throne. But with the practical advantages now gained at home by the latter monarch, through the death of the Duke Louis I. of Anjou and the memorable siege of Nocera, commenced a new period, and the conspirators in Dalmatia, Croatia, and Bosnia, saw opportunity ripe for urging King Charles to return to Hungary. For that purpose Paul Horvathy, Bishop of Agram,
August 1385. under pretext of a pilgrimage to Rome, had proceeded to Naples, empowered by his party to offer

him the crown. Obtaining audience of the King, that prelate vividly sketched for him the state of affairs in Hungary, and entreated him to come without delay to Buda, where the throne most assuredly awaited him. 'Thus,' said he, 'would the two realms be reunited, and the ancient quarrel forgotten.'

Remembering his promise to King Louis, Charles at first peremptorily refused the temptation. 'It is true,' replied the Bishop, 'your promise forbids you to aspire to the throne of Hungary; but does that prevent your acceptance of a gift offered you, for their own interest and for that of the Church, by the representatives of a great nation?' The political sophistries of the Bishop found a sympathetic echo in the ambition of the successful soldier, and he began to look upon his possible acquiescence as constituting a still more complete triumph over Urban.[1] Queen Margaret, nevertheless, tormented by ill-bodings, tearfully besought her husband to content himself with the fair realm of Naples, reminding him that Hungary was not only faithful to Urban, but that it had been the chief source of the many violent troubles during the reign of Queen Joanna, from which every branch of their family had most cruelly suffered. Her arguments proved unavailing. Had he been begged to go as a conqueror with an army, it is probable he would have refused to do so; but finding himself invited to come as a guest and hear the will of a friendly and powerful faction, he saw no valid reason for refusing; and however much

[1] John Thuróczy, Chron. Karol. Parvo, i. 200.

some may be inclined to reproach him, it must be conceded the temptation was at least an exceptional one. In finally acceding to the request, he resolved to regard it as an experiment, and to prove its worth in a very practical manner.

On the 14th September 1385, accompanied by Alberico da Barbiano, Naccarello Dentice,[1] and a small retinue, he left Naples with four galleys, and, after touching at Manfredonia and at Corfu (which belonged to his dominions), landed at Fiume, whence he journeyed to Agram, where, on arrival, he was welcomed and sumptuously entertained. He was already upon perilous ground. Well had it been for him had he proceeded no further! The Queen-mother, Elisabeth, learning of his coming, became exceedingly suspicious as to his designs, and despatched Sigismund, her son-in-law, to Prague, in order to bring the influence of the Emperor, his brother, to bear upon the King of Naples in Mary's favour, should it become necessary so to do. At the same time, she despatched envoys to Charles himself, in order to gain clear information as to his real intentions. Charles entertained no hostility to the two royal ladies themselves, and therefore assured them in reply that he had not come as a conqueror, but that hearing of their many difficulties, he was there at the request of certain magnates of the people, to offer them his aid. As, however, they were in reality under the despotism

[1] Bonincontrius, Annali, R. I. Sc. xxi.

of Nicholas Garay, Ban of Zara, against whom the people now had reason to bear animosity, matters soon developed a more acute phase. What with native dissatisfaction and foreign bribery, the King's party daily augmented, and noble after noble openly favoured the election of Charles, at any rate as Governor or Viceroy. Meanwhile, the two Queens convened a Diet at Buda on November 8th, when Mary ratified all former privileges, and received the homage of the magnates. In the following month, Charles himself reached Buda, and prudently rejecting the offer of lodgment in the royal castle, took up his abode at the palace of one of the notables.

It began to be felt he could not long refuse the honour more and more ardently pressed upon him. Nevertheless, he managed as long as was possible to keep on good terms with the royal ladies. But the game of cunning had begun in earnest, and the opposing parties were now face to face: the Queens being represented by Nicholas Garay, Ban of Zara, while Charles was represented by Horvathy, Palisnay, and others. The ladies certainly behaved with finished dissimulation. On his arrival near Buda, assuming him to have no vexatious intentions, but rather to have come to their aid and protection, they drove out to meet him in their state-chariot, and conducted him to the residence in which he elected to reside, where, presently, he received most friendly ovations from the populace.

A few days sufficed to show him he was strong

enough to assume the part of Regent, and thereupon he took up his residence in the castle, where, at Christmas-tide, he made bold to assemble a Diet. A little later, during a tumult, the demonstrations made against the two Queens so terrified them and their guards, that Charles was actually called upon to offer them the protection of his Italian soldiers, and personally to allay their terror. He soon learned, as also did the royal ladies themselves, that the people had proclaimed him King.

Upon receiving this announcement, which involved her own deposition, Mary wrathfully declared she would never surrender her crown and kingdom. 'As for you,' said she, addressing King Charles, 'follow the path you have undertaken, but I beg of you, for the sake of my father Louis, your former benefactor, permit me to go and join my husband in Bohemia.' Queen Elisabeth,[1] with more tact and dexterity, merely replied, that for her part, she was sensible women were incapable of controlling a people so impatient of rule as the Magyars,—'I have used my authority over my daughter, and have now begged her to yield to destiny. I am, at least, pleased that you, who are of the blood of King Charles of Anjou, should receive the crown in preference to all others. All I entreat of you, in yielding you the sceptre, is to allow us to quit the kingdom in safety.' There can be no doubt they desired to go. In reply, Charles expressed his grateful

[1] She was Bosnian by birth. *Vide* Genealogy.

satisfaction, and vowed he would revere the widow of his former benefactor as a mother, and Mary as his sister.

But it seems probable he felt he could only 1385.
guarantee their personal safety so long as they accompanied him, and enjoyed the protection of his own bodyguard. At the same time, their presence at his approaching coronation would naturally have the effect of proving to the people that they willingly renounced their rights and sanctioned his accession. Meanwhile a considerable increase in the royal retinue took place from another cause, namely, the arrival of several more Neapolitan nobles. Their presence, however, did not contribute additional harmony, inasmuch as several of the native magnates now began to evince jealous uneasiness as to the part these Italians might play in Hungarian affairs.

Immediately after Christmas the King set out for Stuhlweissenburg (Alba Regalis), where grand preparations had been made for his coronation. His dethroned kinswomen accompanied him thither. On the 31st of December, the Cathedral being thronged with nobles and prelates of the realm, and Charles seated in the chair of state, the Archbishop of Gran thrice asked the congregation whether it was willing to accept King Charles of Naples as King of Hungary. On the first asking, enthusiastic plaudits greeted the question; but on each of the subsequent repetitions there arose but feeble and feebler murmurs. This was due not so

much to any real change of feeling toward the King, but to the melodramatic effect caused by the audible sobbing of the two realmless Queens, who presently sank down passionately weeping upon the sepulchre of King Louis.

The coronation concluded, Charles, preceded by the banner of King Stephen, left the Cathedral in order to mount his attendant charger and make a customary progress to the castle. The bearer of that historical trophy, however, in passing out of the church, struck the arched doorway with the pole, which, being like tinder with age, snapped in twain. The incident was looked upon by many present as of peculiarly evil omen. A token considered yet more inauspicious was a terrific thunderstorm which a few days later broke over Buda, just as the King was about to re-enter the castle there. Every mediæval chronicler of these incidents lavishes on them his wealth of superstitious exaggeration. Costanzo, the Neapolitan historian, even goes so far as to say that tiles were blown into the air from the roofs, causing many of the older houses to collapse and bury their inmates. A Magyar writer declares that dense flights of ravens, dismally croaking, flapped their wings against the windows, and tore at one another.[1]

[1] At Naples the news of his coronation was received with delight, both by the natives and the foreign merchants, and Queen Margaret on horseback paraded the streets with nine of her ladies, dressed in white embroidered with gold. 'Nobiles Capuanæ et Nidi, qui cum banderiis et magnis instrumentis equitando per avitatem Neapoles,

It must be confessed that, in still keeping the royal ladies at his side, according them full liberty and outward honours, though it showed openly enough his chivalrous disposition and his regard for the promise formerly made to Elisabeth, Charles betrayed a want of caution bordering on insanity. He was well aware of the respective characters of the two Queens and of the perilous number of their sympathisers. It was impossible to suppose they would prove other than the most probable cause or centre of a future conspiracy for regaining that which had been so reluctantly surrendered, to say nothing of revenging their misfortune upon their favoured kinsman. He knew that the Queen-mother was a more than practised dissembler; he knew equally well that Mary was fiery and courageous; above all, he was aware that the Ban of Zara had remained the staunch confidant of both Queens all through. In reality, each of these three had signed the death-warrant of Charles with their heart's blood. The Ban now devised his death, and lost no time in putting the plot into execution. As Charles was sharing the castle with them, this could not have proved a very difficult matter.

It was therefore planned that Queen Elisabeth, on an appointed day, toward evening, should invite Charles to confer with her anent letters she professed

Feb. 7, 1386.

iverant ad dictum castrum (Nuovo).'—Chron. Siculum, 63. See also Archivio Storico Napol., anno xii. 'Florentini fecerunt maximum festum postquam Carolus fuit factus rex Hungariæ.'—Sozomeni, Pistoriensis, R. I. Sc. 1129.

to have received from Sigismund, her son-in-law, who had been raising forces and unlawfully mortgaging certain Hungarian and other estates while in Bohemia. The Ban, on pretence of being about to start for Syrmia in order to be present at his daughters' wedding, was to arrive at the same hour, to take formal leave of the two royal ladies.[1]

At the appointed time, the King, accompanied by his Italian bodyguard, waited upon the Queen-mother; but perceiving affairs of state were to be discussed, he dismissed his attendants into the corridors. A letter from Sigismund was then handed to him. While in the act of perusing it, the Ban, a certain Györgyi, and the cup-bearer, Blasius Forgach, entered the hall, in order, as it seemed, to take formal leave. The King and Naccarello Dentice, suspecting nothing, turned their backs upon them, and the former continued reading. Suddenly Forgach, raising a battle-axe which he had concealed beneath his cloak, smote Charles upon the head with it, felling him to the floor. Dentice was also struck down. Hearing groans, his attendants rushed in, whereupon the conspirators made for the courtyard, where their friends were awaiting them. The Queen swooned, or pretended to do so, and Charles was carried by the terrified courtiers to his apartments. The conspirators, whose adherents had been collected secretly in various portions of the city, now drove their opponents before them, and Paul Horvathy, with many

[1] I. Fessler, Gesch. von. Ungarn, tom. ii. pp. 242, 243.

of the Italians, quitted the city that night and fled into Croatia, while Forgach, the actual assassin, fearing for his life, likewise made his escape into the country.

Next day the Queens sent out heralds proclaiming that Mary was their only legitimate sovereign, and granting full pardon to all who, by force or bribery, had been guilty of swerving from their allegiance in favour of the King of Naples; whereupon the townsfolk, seeing their advantage, fell upon the unfortunate Italian merchants and pillaged their houses.

Charles meanwhile was kept prisoner, and soon afterwards was removed to the castle of Visegrad, where (despite three desperate wounds), showing inconvenient signs of recovery, he was either poisoned Feb 24, 1385. or strangled.[1] Being regarded as under Urban's interdict, his body was buried without rites of any kind. Four years later, Pope Boniface IX., another Neapolitan Pontiff, whose family (Tomacelli) had been greatly favoured and advanced by Charles, caused his remains to be taken up and re-interred becomingly in the Church of St. Andrew in that city.[2]

Thus perished Charles III. in the prime of his life, being but forty-one years of age, a victim rather to his want of caution than to his ambition. De Niem incidentally describes his person for us, and his intellectual pleasures: 'Karolus erat brevis staturæ, et rufus et pulcher aspectu necnon loquela et incessu

[1] I. Fessler, p. 244.
[2] Ibid.

placidus, poetis et historiis sufficienter instructus, in quibus etiam libenter post cenam et prandium cum doctis in illis plerumque conferre consuevit.'[1]

By his death, it must be confessed, Hungary was destined to suffer deplorably; for that realm was on the eve not only of desperate struggles with the invading Moslem, but of civil war between the returning Sigismund and Mary his wife, in which the ability of such a commander as Charles would have stood the latter in good stead.

Elisabeth did not long enjoy her triumph. By the advice of Nicholas of Zara, the two Queens presently determined to proceed with a small escort to Croatia, believing that by their coming the rebels who still opposed them there would be pacified. Confident of success, they journeyed to Agram; but Horvathy learning of their approach, collected some troops, and intercepted them and their escort near Diacovar (or Gorgan), whereupon a sanguinary encounter took place. Blasius Forgach was killed by a lance-thrust while defending the royal carriage, and his body was immediately decapitated. The Ban Nicholas fell beneath a shower of arrows, and his son was taken prisoner by Horvathy.

Horvathy, thus making the two Queens prisoners, was implored for mercy by Elisabeth, who confessed herself to have been the sole instigator of the murder

[1] De Scism., lib. i. xlix. See also Paris de Puteo, De Duello, cap. xiv. lib. 9. Minerbetti, Chron. ap. Tartini, R. I. Ss. ii. 1385. Matteo Camera, p. 331.

of King Charles. Horvathy sent Mary to be confined in the fortress of Gomneck, while Elisabeth was taken to Novigrad, near Zara, where afterwards she was strangled.[1] Meanwhile John of Palisnay, bearing the heads of the slaughtered Ban and Forgach, carried the news of the capture of the two Queens to Naples, and laid his gory trophies at the feet of the disconsolate Margaret.

[1] M. Horvath, Geschichte von Ungarn, 194.

CHAPTER VI.

ET me now observe how things had fared with Urban and his unfortunate Cardinals. They had duly arrived at Genoa toward the close of September 1385, and the popular demonstrations there had been both soothing to Urban's ruffled pride and very flattering to his obstinacy. In the midst of his discomfiture he remained inflexible in purpose. If, however, he enjoyed the cruel triumph of dragging the worn-out victims in his train to the Hospital of the Knights of St. John, where he took up his abode, he did it at the expense of his sudden popularity with the townfolk of Genoa. To their eyes a living Pontiff afforded a pleasant and unwonted sight; but the news of the treatment to which his Cardinals had been subjected, the actual glimpses obtained of them, fettered and emaciated, as they had left the ships, and their subsequent utter seclusion, created profound astonishment commingled with intense curiosity and commiseration. Nevertheless events fell out as agreeably as possible for Urban, and he found it not compulsory to listen to the voice of popular sympathy.

Sept. 23, 1385.

It had happened that, with consummate craft, Gian

Galeazzo Visconti had lately surprised his unsuspecting uncle Bernabo and his sons, and confining them in various prisons, had made himself master of Milan.[1] In December Bernabo died,[2] it was believed by poison, and was honoured with a sumptuous public funeral by his tactful successor, just as if he had been reigning prince. In order to clear himself of the crime and obtain absolution for having married his uncle's daughter, Caterina, without having obtained Papal dispensation, Gian Galeazzo now sent splendid gifts[3] to Urban, presently visited him, and without difficulty obtained his desire. All this conduced to fortify Urban in his new position, and partly enabled him to repay the heavy expenses incurred in acquiring the ten Genoese galleys.[4]

These things, however, did not quench the compassion felt for the Cardinals. Already, while touching at Pisa, on the voyage to Genoa, Pietro Gambacorta, Lord of that city, had interceded with Urban for them; but Urban had sternly replied that their crimes had been great, and in no wise did they deserve pity. At Genoa, first of all, certain of their kinsmen, together with the Cardinals of Ravenna and Pietramala, begged Urban to have pity upon them, but their entreaties were in vain. Finally, the

[1] Corio, Istoria di Milano, vol. ii.

[2] Johan. de Mussis, Chron. Placent. apud Muratori, vol. xvi. 'Eodem anno Christi MCCCLXXXV. dictus dominus Bernabos decessit in Castro Trecii,' pp. 545, 546. Sozomeni, Pistor. ap. Muratori, vol. xvi. 1183.

[3] 'Multa preciosa vasa argentea.'—De Sciamate, lib. i. lvii.; De Niem.

[4] Each of the galleys had carried fifty archers and one hundred and fifty rowers (Gobelinus, Persona Cosmodrom, vi.). See p. 87.

Doge himself made endeavours to the same purpose, which proved equally unavailing. Presently a letter arrived from King Richard II. of England, beseeching for the release of Adam Aston,[1] Cardinal of St. Cecilia, and his subject; in the event of refusal by the Pope, possibly hinting that his people might be tempted to acknowledge the Anti-Pope.[2]

As Urban felt he could not afford to lose the so profitable fidelity of the English, he set the wretched captive free.[3] The Cardinals of Ravenna and Pietramala, having failed in their attempts to obtain the release of their colleagues, now felt it necessary for their own safety to flee. The former went to Pavia, where he created some sensation by burning his hat in the Piazza, and the latter to Avignon, where, being gladly welcomed by Clement, he was created an Anti-Papal Cardinal.[4]

Urban now grew suspicious of every one who entered the Hospital, and doubled the guards. Before long, however, he determined to make an end of the Cardinals; though by what means he did so is not precisely known. The mystery preserved in regard to this tragedy gave rise, as was but natural

[1] His sepulchre may be seen on entering the Church of St. Cecilia, at Rome, bearing the arms of England—three leopards and three fleur-de-lis. He died 1388.

[2] See Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, ii. 123, 197. De Niem says, 'Ad supplicationem eiusdem Richardi regis Angliæ postea dimisit.'—De Scismate, lvii.; Gobelini, Pers. Cosmod., vi. 81.

[3] 'Erat inter illos unus de Anglia cardinalis magnipotens, quem liberavit potentum Anglorum instantia.'—Georg Stella, ll. xvii. 1127.

[4] He lived to receive a third cardinalate from Boniface IX., whence he became nicknamed the Cardinal of the three hats.

in those times, to speculations quite as various as those disseminated in regard to the death of Queen Joanna. Some said that the Cardinals were tied up in sacks and dropped into the sea;[1] others, that they were strangled, and others still, that they were walled up alive.[2] Their supposed remains were discovered a few years back in the convent of San Giovanni, which possibly gives more favour to the latter conjecture. Each version became duly embroidered with new and ingenious details, in order to suit the contemporary appetite for horrors.[3]

Gobelinus, however, who was personally familiar with Urban, simply declares that the Cardinals died in prison, but that he is ignorant of the manner of their deaths. He heard in later years that they were buried under the stables.[4] That arch-fabricator, Collenucio, as might be expected, vigorously out-distanced all competitors in detailing the unknown circumstances.

Meantime had occurred those startling events in Hungary which have been already recorded, and which culminated in the assassination of King Charles.

[1] Baluze in his Life of Clement VII. and Bonincontrius, vol. xxi. 47, Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script.

[2] 'Dicitur fecit dictos Cardinales carceratos vivos sepeliri in quadam stalla equorum.'—Joh. de Mussis, Chron. Placent., 539, apud Muratori, vol. xvi. 'Selon les divers sentiments des historiens.'—St. C. B.

De Niem writes—'Dicebatur enim a multis, quod in stabulo equorum dicti Urbani in quadam fossa repleta calce viva eorum corpora projecta et in eadem totaliter combusta et in cineres conversa fuerant.'—Lib. lx.

[3] Histor. Paduan. Andreas Gatarus, apud Muratori, vol. xvii. 460.

[4] Gobelini, Pers. in Cosmod., vi. 81.

On the first of the year had taken place a total eclipse of the sun; on the 15th the moon had likewise undergone eclipse.[1] In those credulous times, it may be accepted such events gave rise to ominous speculation; but added afterwards to the fact of Urban's violent excommunication of the King and Queen, it is not to be wondered that the tragic death of the former was looked upon by many as the direct and special result of the Papal anathema, of which the eclipses were sure phenomenal foretoken.

Ere the close of January the University of Zara sent letters to Naples informing the Queen of her husband's coronation at Alba-Regalis, and stating it had been performed with the consent of the Hungarian Queen, the barons, and the clergy. In consequence, all Naples was illuminated, and a magnificent festivity commenced, which lasted for more than a month.[2] The Queen called together the nobles and magistrates, and conveyed to them the good news, which indeed was soon confirmed by letters from the King himself. In consequence there ensued a round of dances, processions, and tournaments, which Margaret and her son Ladislaus, and Joanna, her daughter,—dressed in red and azure velvet, and preceded by the standard bearing the arms of Hungary,—honoured with their presence. Adding greater glory to this extraordinary spectacle, the ambassadors of Genoa and Florence, with their respective suites, rode on gor-

[1] Chronicon Siculum, p. 63. Bonincontri, O. c. 47.
[2] Chronic. Siculum, p. 63.

geously caparisoned horses through the city to make their respective homages to her at the Castelnuovo, and that done, they paraded through the city by night with torches burning. Nine ladies of the Queen's household, robed in white with armlets of gold,[1] seem also to have attracted much attention as they followed their royal mistress in her progresses.

On the 15th of February, while witnessing with her children one of the tournaments held in the Strade delle Correggie,[2] the Florentine ambassador received letters from Florence containing news of the assassination of King Charles. Later on he went to the castle and took counsel with Orsini, Count of Nola, Tommaso Marzano, the Chief Justiciary, and others, showed them his letters, and, afterwards obtaining audience of the Queen, acquainted her with her dire misfortune. According to one account, the news reached her while witnessing the tournament, and Margaret left it at once weeping, and went to shut herself in the castle—'and the crowd dispersing quickly, so that in an hour not a person was to be seen.'[3]

On the following Sunday, Luigi di Gesualdo arrived from Hungary, bearing details of the tragedy, but adding that though the King was dreadfully wounded and had lost an eye, he was not yet dead. At this the Queen took some comfort, and in gratitude to Heaven walked barefooted, taper in hand,

[1] Chronic. Siculum, p. 63.
[2] Giornale del Duca di Montileone. [3] Ibid.

followed by a reverent throng of her subjects, to the Church of S. Maria di Piedigrotta, near Posilippo, and there gave thanks to the Virgin.[1] In a short time the news of his death reached her.

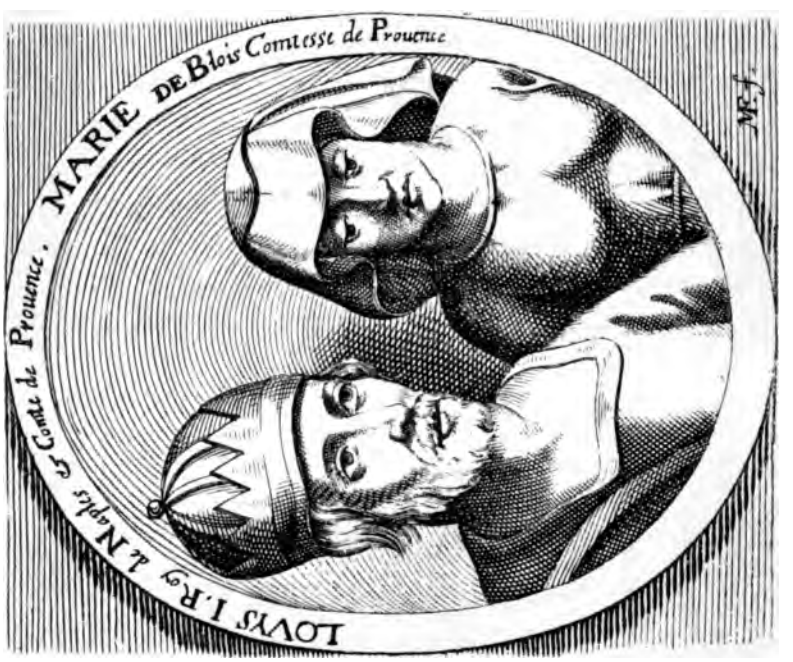
In order fully to understand the situation at Naples, it now becomes necessary to survey the political doings of the Angevine or Anti-Papal party, who, owing to Urban's art of making enemies, were at no loss for adherents even in Italy.

By means of successive creations of Cardinals, the wily Clement had aimed directly at obtaining for his cause the financial resources of the wealthiest families in France. His efforts were well rewarded. One of his Cardinals, Pierre de Luxembourg, was but eighteen years of age.[2] The lower clergy were oppressed to the utmost with taxes and tithes. The collectors of the Apostolic Chamber developed into absolute tyrants. At the decease of any clerical dignitary they immediately appeared upon the scene, pounced upon his goods, sold the ornaments of his church, imprisoned his heirs if they offered resistance, and even went to the extreme of mortgaging the harvests years in advance; so that oftentimes a newly-elevated bishop found himself obliged to traverse his diocese at the head of an armed company levying contributions from the penniless inhabitants. The writer of the Chronicle of St. Denis declares

[1] Costanzo.

[2] Les Souverains Pontifes à Avignon. J. B. Joudou, vol. ii. p. 247.

CHARLES DE DVRAS Roy de Ierus. et de Sicile
1381


LOVYS I. Roy d. Naples & Comte de Prouence. MARIE DE Blois Comtesse de Prouence

that the exactions of Clement VII. surpassed those of Boniface VIII., and even those of John XXII. In addition to these resources, the kingdoms of Aragon and Navarre had, by means of the skilful eloquence of Cardinal Pedro di Luna,[1] submitted to his sway, while in Italy, Bologna and a portion of Naples openly acknowledged him.

Upon learning the death of Louis of Anjou, Clement had lost no time in sending for his widow, Mary of Blois, and her son, Louis II., in order that they should receive at his hands the investiture to the kingdom of Naples and the Countship of Provence. Mary, while in Paris, had made good use of her time in attaching to her cause the sympathies of Charles VI. There Tommaso San Severino found her, and thence he gladly conducted her to Avignon, where the Anti-Pope welcomed her with entirely royal magnificence. Soon after her arrival she attended an open consistory, and went through the absurd formality of receiving at his hands the guardianship of her own son, after which the latter was presented with a standard as the sign of his investiture.

Having thus been made Regent during the minority of Louis, Mary made haste to win the goodwill of the various cities of Provence and their feudal masters. Having for this end raised a considerable army, under the command of the Count of Rochefort, she convened a meeting of the States at Apt, the chief outcome of which was an agreement with the people of Mar- April 24, 1385.

[1] Afterwards Pope Benedict XIII.

seilles that they should give their allegiance, albeit with somewhat thorny conditions, to her son. Perceiving that no more influential means of ingratiating herself with the Provençals could be devised than by freely showing herself and Louis, she now made a state progress with him. She had returned to Avignon at the very moment when Charles III. was starting on his fatal journey to Hungary; and there learning that Clement was enjoying his summer at Chateauneuf, she and Louis pressed forward, till at the gate of that town the young King dismounted, and taking the bridle of the Pope's mule, conducted its master to the castle. Baluze[1] relates that the boy being small of stature, the Sire de Viviers raised him in his arms so that he might perform this dutiful ceremony. In December Mary gratified the people of Arles by making that city her principal residence. In the following months occurred in Hungary the events previously recorded, which so tragically placed Ladislaus upon the throne of Naples; which therefore brings us to fresh developments in the dual struggle between the rival heirs to the throne of Queen Joanna I., and in that between the rival Pontiffs, Urban and Clement.

[1] Vita Clem. VII.

CHAPTER VII.

T is not my intention to follow out the development of the long and desultory civil war in Naples which ensued upon the death of King Charles, between Queen Margaret on behalf of their son, Ladislaus, on the one hand, and Mary of Blois and her son, Louis II. of Anjou, on the other, complicated by the factions of the rival Popes, which continued till quite the close of the century, and was vigorously renewed in the next. But it will be a matter of more general interest to trace the brief remaining career of Urban, and see what results followed from his turbulent ambition to possess the kingdom of Naples.

The death of King Charles had removed the chief rock of offence; and to the eyes of most people it appeared that by according charity, or at least, forbearance, to the widowed Queen and her son, Urban would not only be doing a Christian act of clemency, but would most dexterously recover his vanished dignity, and possibly the territorial prizes of which he had so entirely lost hold. But pity was a quality entirely foreign to Urban's nature; moreover, Margaret had always hitherto identified herself completely and rigidly with her late husband's

policy. Angry with the world and with himself, it flattered his morbid rancour to further advertise to every one how remorseless he could be.

At the very time when the King met his death in Hungary, ambassadors from Margaret to Urban had arrived in Genoa, for the purpose of making terms of peace between them. The Pope, with his Cardinals, thereupon celebrated mass in their presence. After this he ordered one of the deacons to read aloud the same terrible interdict he had used while at Nocera, he and the Cardinals meanwhile holding the lighted torches in their hands, which they threw down at the close.[1] The insulted ambassadors immediately left the church and made their way back to Naples.

Margaret, though fully occupied with dire civic discords at Naples, and the active intrigues of the Anti-Papal party, nevertheless, at the urgent request of her Ministers, sent another embassy to Genoa in the following August for the same purpose. De Niem[2] tells us that special advocates from Florence and other Italian States at the same time begged Urban to forget the offences of the father and husband, and to take pity upon the widow and her children.[3] Margaret, moreover, offered to liberate his nephew, Francesco Prignano, who was still in the Castle of St. Elmo. Nothing could soften him.

[1] Chronicon Siculum, p. 63. [2] De Scismate, lxiv.

[3] 'Florentini oratores, cum Papa Urbanus esset Lucæ pluries ad eum iverunt, ut vellet in Regno Neapoli ponere pacem, et favere Ladislao filio Regis.'—Sozomeni, Pistoriensis, apud Muratori, vol. xvi. p. 1131.

In September a gory trophy arrived in Naples in the shape of the heads of the assassins of Charles, which were placed on pikes and stuck over the various gates of Naples.

Urban's assumption that Margaret, distracted by her difficulties, would be weak enough to surrender her son's rights over Capua and Amalfi, proved entirely fallacious; but he was still meditating a final effort to possess himself of the kingdom. Owing, however, to the immense charge of 80,000 florins incurred on account of the armed galleys supplied him by the Genoese Republic, he found himself short of the means wherewith to undertake it.

Nevertheless, alarmed at the renewed activity of the Clementists around Louis II. of Anjou, with whom Duke Otho of Brunswick now freely joined himself, he felt the urgent necessity of taking active measures. With this intention he had sought aid from the Aragonese monarch of Sicily, and was eagerly treating for the services of certain condottieri in Central Italy, who were reaping the benefit of desultory outbreaks between the various Tuscan republics. In December, 1386. having acquainted the Governor of Lucca that he contemplated visiting that town on his way toward Rome, he left Genoa, and passing by Pietra Santa with a numerous following, presently arrived there.[1] The Governor decreed that in honour of his visit the Pope should be lodged and entertained at

[1] Archivio Storico Italiano, 1st Series, tom. x. lib. ii. chap. vii. p. 265.

the public expense. On Christmas Eve he celebrated mass in the Cathedral of San Martino, and afterwards presented Forteguerra, the chief magistrate, with the ducal cap and sword.[1] So gratified was he with his treatment by the Lucchese, that instead of a merely passing visit, his stay was graciously extended to nine full months, during which time he was enabled to mature his plans and make various seemingly advantageous treaties. Further, in virtue of the yet uncompleted payment for the repurchase of her liberties from the late Emperor Charles IV., he now managed to extract large sums of money from the city funds.

In August 1387, a month ere his departure from Lucca, Urban issued a fiery manifesto, summoning all who considered themselves of the faithful to join his crusade against the impious and contumacious kingdom of Naples, illustrating his remarks by adroit reference to the dealings of the ferocious Levites with Midian.

The cities of Central Italy, feeling Urban's proximity, at once assumed individual attitudes toward him. The Florentines, who had not ceased entreating him to forget his former wrath with King Charles and to crown his son, Ladislaus, obtained no favour from him, and further, were only just able to keep the peace. They knew his temper well enough not to go too far, nor to trust him overmuch. Viterbo,

[1] 'Con ornamenti d'oro e di pietre preziose.'—Arch. Stor. Ital., 1st Series, vol. xvi. part i.

under the tyranny of Francesco di Vico, defied him, though finally it had to yield to an attack of the Papal troops led by Tommaso Orsini,[1] Cardinal di Manupello. Spoleto and Orvieto absolutely refused to receive his envoys, and were placed under his interdict. Perugia, however, desirous of profiting by differing from her neighbours and rivals, sent him a rich embassy, inviting him not only to reside in her, but to become her spiritual magistrate. Learning this, the Florentines sent to the King of France begging him to urge Clement to arrange a marriage 'twixt Louis II. of Anjou and Joanna, the sister of Ladislaus (afterwards Queen Joanna II.), so as to bring this protracted warfare of the two Angevine families to a real and satisfactory conclusion.[2]

Urban gladly welcomed the Perugian embassy, and promising the city many special privileges, began to make active preparations for departure thither.

On the 23rd of September, therefore, accompanied by his now liberated nephew, Francesco, and his wife (styled Count and Countess of Abruzzo), by eleven cardinals, and two thousand cavalry under the commands of Giovanni Beltot,[3] Carlo Malatesta, and Gentile da Camerino, he set out for Perugia by way of Pisa. The magnates of the latter city entertained

[1] Istoria di Viterbo (Bussi), where will be found related the trouble into which this Cardinal fell with Urban, p. 216; also De Niem, De Scismate, lxvii.

[2] Sozomeni, Pistoriensis, apud Muratori, vol. xvi. p. 1131.

[3] John Beltot, an English captain of adventure. 'Magnum capitaneum in Italia et eidem Urbano fideliter adherentem.'—De Scismate, lxvii.

him in passing, and escorted him as far as Radicondoli.[1] Thence, journeying by Buon-Convento and San Quirico, his military cortège augmenting continually, he duly reached the Porta San Pietro of that noble hill-city on the 2nd of October. A flattering chronicler[2] tells us that when the Pontiff had reached a certain point in the city called Trebbia di Luciano, a white dove settled upon his hat, which was looked upon as an especially auspicious omen.

For six whole days the citizens made feasts in his honour, and the nights were made bright with bonfires. On the second Sunday after his arrival Urban took occasion to preach from a pulpit that commanded the Piazza (not the present little pulpit so well known to visitors at Perugia), and from it he declared Spoleto and Orvieto to be under his interdict. 'And it was held to be a miracle by some that though a strong wind was blowing at the time, it did not extinguish the torch he held.'[3] Moreover, finding, says this writer, the clangour of the city bells to be a nuisance, the magistrates gave order the said bells were to be less frequently sounded.

During the ten months spent in Perugia, Urban ripened various designs for replenishing his treasury and for restoring his popularity with the Romans. Chief among these was the holding of a Jubilee in the Eternal City in 1390, for which purpose he sent out

[1] Istoria di Siena, Bern. Malavolti, p. 158.
[2] Graziani, in Archivio Storico Italiano, 1st Series, vol. xvi. part i.
[3] Ibid.

proclamations far and wide. As De Niem [1] remarks, however, 'Urban sowed for Boniface to reap.'

Well satisfied by his treatment at Perugia, the Pope at last decided to advance upon Naples while he could yet rely, as he thought, upon the mercenaries he had collected. He accordingly left that city on August 8th, giving it his benediction and an indulgence extending to eight days after his departure. In company with Beltot, the commander of a portion of Hawkwood's English troops, he set out for Todi. He had not advanced ten miles, however, when his mule stumbling, threw him heavily to the ground,[2] shaking and bruising him so severely that he was unable to remount, and had to be carried the rest of the journey. After a rest at Todi, he proceeded to Narni, where, being unable to meet Beltot's reiterated demands for wages due to his soldiers, that Captain left him.[3] Urban managed to reach Tivoli, where many Roman citizens came out to see him. Feeling afraid, however, of his many enemies in the Eternal City, he would not trust himself to enter it, but passed on southward to Ferentino,—the same place where, five years before, he had first quarrelled with his ill-fated Cardinals. On entering that quiet mountain-town, how vividly must he have reflected upon the extraordinary sequence of events

[1] De Scismate, lxviii.

[2] De Niem, lxix. Graziani, Archivio Storico Italiano, 1st Series, vol. xvi.

[3] De Niem, lxix. Chron. di Pisa, apud Muratori, vol. xv. p. 1086. Chron. di Minerbetti, anno 1388, 12. Sozomeni, Pistoriensis, vol. xvi. 1138.

since his previous visit! Finding his project growing as hopeless as his health, he was at last persuaded to fall back on Rome, where, on the 15th of October 1389, he breathed his last, not without suspicions, so usual in that age, of having been poisoned.[1] The Chronicon Siculum and other authorities state that he died without receiving the sacraments.

Unregretted by any save certain members of his family whom he had aggrandised, he was buried in St. Peter's, where later on he was honoured with a sumptuous monument, now almost destroyed, and a somewhat flattering epitaph, in which his deathless glory is assumed to be increasing the light of heaven.

De Niem tells us that in person Urban was short and close-set, and of a swarthy complexion.[2]

The character of Urban truly possessed few attractions, but it was, happily for mankind, an unusual one. Its vices, if we except nepotism and avarice, were not of the class for which the Pontiffs of his century are chiefly, and very justly, blamed. Morally, he was an ascetic upon whom Nature perhaps revenged herself. If he had intellectual capability, it was obscured by constant explosions of that ungovernable wrath which wreaked itself in so ferocious a manner on his victims. This indeed was the destructive element in his character, the stead-

[1] Minerbetti, Chron., anno 1389, 15; Sozomeni, Pistoriensis, 1140, apud Muratori, xvi.: 'Et per unum mensem fuit in ægrotatione. Et dictum fuit, quod de veneno deficit.'

[2] 'Erat etiam brevis stature et spissus, coloris lividi sive fusci, et sexagenarius vel circa, dum elegabatur in Papam.'—De Scismate, lib. i. 1.

fast defeater of all his plans and ambitions. He seems to have united in himself the toughness, the weight, and the endurance of iron; but whenever these admirable qualities were most urgently required for action, the metal was found to be at white heat, and, therefore, worse than useless. Some of his contemporaries not unnaturally declared him to be insane. Nevertheless, it cannot be said he exhibited disorder in his ideas, or any indistinctness in his aims, and certainly he showed no trace of indecision in his efforts for their achievement. He seems, however, to have found a certain passionate satisfaction in raising the very storms with which he so vainly battled; and it is difficult to give this any other name than insanity. Yet we cannot withhold a sort of admiration for reckless daring when found coupled with such inflexible determination. Of the superior advantages of his adversaries Urban made little account. His dexterity again was well shown in extricating himself from Nocera. He had no little gift of cunning. To the austerity of the monk he added the pitilessness of the inquisitor, which his sudden elevation to autocratic power gave him ample means of gratifying. Without displaying a remarkable mind, he had yet sufficient knowledge of human nature to be even with all its worst qualities. He saw nothing lovely in life at all, except his own lust for power. Had Urban possessed a portion of the tact and self-control of King Charles, it is quite probable the Western Schism

would not have occurred. The mere fact of his being an Italian, instead of a French Pontiff, gave him extraordinary advantages, all of which he most wilfully wasted. The mischievous despotism of the foreign Condottieri, which his foreign predecessors on the throne of St. Peter had set themselves earnestly, if vainly, to check, was in consequence given fresh impetus, and the affairs of Italy were still further confounded. Cleavage in the Church in those days meant dislocation in everything, a sanguinary scramble throughout the land, crippling every mercantile enterprise, demoralising every social effort; and the various local tyrants were too shrewd to underrate their tempting opportunities. Thus Urban left the affairs of the Church in Italy in a state of complete chaos.[1]

Yet, strange as it may seem, we should rather be grateful than otherwise that all this far-reaching confusion was brought about. But for the Western Schism, the splendid critical displeasure of Wickliffe and the English people with the despotic and irrational exactions of the Church might have found no sympathetic atmosphere wherein to flourish outside England, and to set reflective minds working. That reformer's direct appeal to the suppressed germs of Rationalism was, by means of the Schism, enabled to stir them into very conscious existence. Opportunity was at last felt to be propitious, and the man was not wanting. A feeble monarch, a dual

[1] Florenz, Neapel und das Päpstliche Schisma. Von Dr. Georg Erler. Leipzig, 1889.

Papacy, an island-people with strong traditions, exasperated by extreme and long-continued clerical abuses,—Europe generally smarting under the desolating extortions of a corrupt, avaricious, and divided priesthood,—all unconsciously contributed to encourage and fortify the audacity of that sincere and energetic thinker, until his doctrines, spreading as they did with healthy rapidity over a semi-sympathetic continent, distantly foretokened the coming of Luther and the emancipation of Reason. The Schism, therefore, was a direct forebear of the Reformation.

It will be not uninteresting now to consider some of the more immediate results of this great crisis in Papal affairs.

To begin with, the example afforded by the leaders of the Christian family was realistically imitated by the other members. The chasm widened; and as it widened, it deepened.

Nominally speaking, France was Clementist and Italy was Urbanist; but virtually, the rival factions impinged on one another throughout Europe, whence mutual persecution and recrimination everywhere prevailed. At Metz, at Liège, at Basle, at Coire, and at Breslau, there were rival bishops who assailed each other with anathemas, which faithfully re-echoed the Pontifical thunders. The monastic Orders soon became involved in the strife, and the Carthusian, to which order Urban himself belonged, became divided against itself. This narrative has shown that the most potent head of the

Benedictines, the Abbot of Monte Cassino, headed the army which besieged Urban at Nocera. The great military order of St. John did not escape the common influence, and consequently owned a Grand-Master and an Anti-Grand-Master. Fra Giovanni-Fernandez d'Eredia, the Grand-Master by right, had espoused the Anti-Papal cause; and while at Palestrina in 1383 Urban declared him deprived, and in his stead elected Fra Riccardo Caracciolo, a Neapolitan, and Prior of the Hospitallers at Capua. In every department of Western Christianity prevailed this disruption, this anarchy; and to accentuate ecclesiastical confusion, the Schism had broken out in the midst of the war being waged by orthodox theologians against those flourishing Mendicant Orders, which the Roman Pontiffs themselves had had good cause for vigorously defending.

It was natural that dogmatical disputes already long carried on in high quarters should receive acute stimulation from the fresh division in the rank and file of the Church. The sects or heresies, which had endured more than a century of persecution at the hands of the Inquisition, now sprang into fresh activity. Terror and repression had subdued, but by no means extirpated them. They had secretly spread over a larger area, and had found new centres, between which had been begotten numerous hybrid and subordinate heresies; whose leaders, however, defied and even menaced their persecutors as daringly as any of their predecessors had done.

Of these, the Waldenses had so widely disseminated their tenets, that in Austrian territories alone they could boast of twelve Grand-Masters or Regents; and they flourished in Prussia and Poland as obstinately as in Bohemia and Bavaria, or in the vale of Mont Cenis. The core of their existence was nourished by professed abhorrence of the greed of Rome and of that corrupt Church, the commencement of whose temporary downfall they were indeed regarding.

In theology, perhaps the most notable and important contention (having its birth in the last years of the pontificate of Urban, and its parentage in the doctrines of Wickliffe) was that which arose between the Aragonese Dominican, Juan de Montesono, and the University of Paris, on the long-fermenting subject of the Immaculate Conception.[1] The Friar affirmed it to be contrary to the Faith to aver that any save Christ Himself was exempt from original sin. He declared it to be a sin against the Faith to aver that the Virgin Mary was immaculately conceived. The scandal evoked by this bold assertion raged during five years. When the University of Paris condemned him, Montesono appealed to Avignon. Mosheim states that the University had clung throughout the century to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.[2] The Bishop of Paris approved the censure of the University, and threatened those who should

[1] Lea, History of the Inquisition, vol. iii. p. 596. Summa Theolog., T. Aquinas, iii. 27.

[2] Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 302.

preach according to Montesono's opinions with excommunication. However, the Friar had received his doctrine from his Order, and his Order was determined to stand by him. Presently, he repaired, by command, to the Court of Clement, and was there confronted by four of the ablest doctors from Paris. Among these figured the famous Pierre d'Ailly, whose arguments soon prepossessing the Anti-Pope in favour of the University, certain of his Cardinals were charged to investigate the dispute still further and come to a decision, meanwhile forbidding Montesono to leave Avignon on pain of being found contumacious. Fearing for his life, however, the Friar fled to Italy and transferred his allegiance to Urban, in whose favour, later on, he issued a treatise. In consequence of the Dominican Order now refusing to accept the decision of Paris, its members were denied access to the University; and, as Lea has pointed out in his admirable History of the Inquisition,[1] this contributed to the abasement of the Inquisition in France, by supplanting it 'as an investigator of doctrine and judge of heresy.'

The area of Italian politics faithfully reflected the contortionate attitudes of the Church. It was a foregone conclusion that any loosening of the ties binding the Angevine kingdom of Naples to the Holy See, which had raised it up in the previous century in order to counterbalance Imperial or Ghibelline despotism in Northern Italy, would prove a certain

[1] Vol. ii. p. 135.

provocation to the chiefs of that faction, of whom the Visconti were at this period of leading importance, and from whom most of the more petty tyrants took their cue. Even in his blinding chagrin after the flight to Genoa, Urban had no need to be reminded of this; and we have seen that while there he gladly received the Vicar-General of the Empire, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, and granting him absolution for the murder of his uncle Bernabo,[1] at the same time gave a dispensation for the marriage of his daughter Valentina with her cousin, the Duke of Orleans, only brother of Charles VI. of France.[2] A little later, however, Urban's eyes were further opened, and he perceived the intention of Visconti, not only to make himself master of Tuscany and the Papal patrimony, but to crown himself King of Italy. For he had taken Verona and Vicenza, had driven from Padua the reigning Carrara family, and thus had extended his frontier to within sight of the very domes of St. Mark's. At the same moment, he aimed a heavy blow at the authority of the Church by decreeing that no layman should be under necessity of obeying a summons from the ecclesiastical courts. In consequence, the Pope excluded him from the general indulgence promised to all who should attend the Jubilee he intended to celebrate in 1390. The adversary, nevertheless, seeing himself

[1] Gian Galeazzo then began to build the Cathedral of Milan, in commemoration of having made himself tyrant. *Vide* Corio, Istoria de Milano, vol. ii.

[2] He himself married, first, Isabella, daughter of that King.

master of two-thirds of entire Lombardy, could well afford to make light of this little want of amiability on the part of Urban, and accordingly he did so.

If a dislocated Naples depressed the Italian Papacy, in a still more potent manner did an over-powerful Milan depress Florence. The position of the latter city was one of extraordinary difficulty. The thrift and industry of her citizens had accumulated unrivalled wealth. Her shrewdness and enterprise had created a greater Florence beyond her walls, of which, indeed, she herself formed but the brain or luminous nucleus. Her bankers maintained agents in every European kingdom, even in many of their secondary towns. There was scarcely a reigning dynasty at the period I am speaking of but was considerably indebted to her, and with her ruling love of money was fused her somewhat peculiar love of freedom.

The money markets of Europe throve at this period, as they ever will do under republican forms of government, and of these Venice, Genoa, and Florence exhibited the principal examples; but the one long considered the most desirable as a possession in the sight of the Visconti dynasty was Florence. Gian Galeazzo felt himself obliged to support the Genoese in order to spite his chronic antagonists the Venetians. The latter, meanwhile, used all possible means to stimulate his greed toward Florence.

Again, during the exile of the Papacy at Avignon, and during these opening years of the Schism, many of the cities of Central Italy had made use of the

opportunity thus given them to imitate the example of Florence, and, throwing off their allegiance, had chosen their own masters. Oppressed by the Cardinal-legates, they had called in the services of various Free Companies and proclaimed their own independence. Others, less fortunate, had succumbed to the legates after recurrent sanguinary struggles. None of them, however, were proof against the dexterous wiles of Visconti, who was aware that their hatred of the Papal suzerainty was almost counterbalanced by their envy of Florence.

Urban, defeated in his designs on Naples, naturally had made it his next object to recover these revolted towns of Tuscany and Romagna; but in this he found himself opposed by Gian Galeazzo, who claimed the lion's share. Throughout the century the possession of Bologna had been contested, and the Lord of Milan now naturally refused to surrender his pretended rights over her to an unpopular and a defeated Pontiff.

Florence, therefore, at this period had three distinct and powerful enemies variously allied against her, viz., the Venetians, who were jealous of her trade; the Tuscan cities, who were envious of her wealth; and the Visconti, who were desirous of entirely crushing her under their tyranny. Florence, made afraid of Urban, had been glad enough to give him the cold shoulder; he returned the coldness by refusing her request that he would join her league against the Visconti.

Finding their desires repulsed in this direction,

the magistrates of Florence, who had been eagerly listening to the urgent proposals of Francisco II. of Padua, and several other victims of Visconti's ambition or treachery, now determined to secure the services of Hawkwood, Rinaldo Orsini, and those of a French company led by the Count of Armagnac. Having achieved this at immense cost, they concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with Bologna, and then despatched an embassy to the insane Charles VI. of France, in order to win him over to their cause. To this they were prompted by the Count of Armagnac, whose daughter had become the second wife of the Duke of Orleans.[1] Their endeavour fortunately did not meet with success, owing probably to the advice of the Anti-Pope, who looked upon the Duke of Milan as the most powerful enemy of the Roman Pope—now Boniface IX.

The Duke was not behind-hand in gathering strength for the struggle. His agents kept him informed of every turn in the development of Florentine politics. He was also aware that Florence had lately lost to Urban the services of certain desirable captains, among whom especially figured Hawkwood, whose wife was a natural daughter of his uncle Bernabo. But for the moment he misreckoned the power of Florentine gold, and thus made a serious miscalculation. At the summons of the Signoria, those renowned captains left the ailing

[1] His sister Beatrice had married Carlo Visconti, son of Bernabo. Corio, Storia di Milano, t. ii. 386.

UNIV. OF MICH.

TOMB OF KING LADISLAUS.
SAN GIOVANNI A CARBONARA, NAPLES.

and bankrupt Pope and returned to Florentine service. To them, however, Milan could oppose commanders only little less skilful, Jacopo del Verme, Facino Cane, and, not least, the brothers Giovanni and Alberico da Barbiano, Counts of Cuneo.

Despite the death of Armagnac and the rout of his Gascons by Del Verme before the walls of Alessandria, the result of the first phase of the long and desultory war that followed was not unfavourable to the Florentines. This was chiefly due both to the admirable strategy of Hawkwood and to the terror everywhere inspired by his corps of six hundred English archers. For, hearing of the disaster to Armagnac's forces, which prevented their effecting the desired junction with his own, Hawkwood contrived a masterly retreat by fording the Adige, and presently blocking the enemy in his descent upon Florence.[1] A temporary peace was brought about by the endeavours of the new Pope, Boniface IX., and was duly signed by representatives of the respective adversaries in the presence of Adorno, Doge of Genoa. July 25, 1391. January 1392.

The advent of a new Italian Pontiff, who felt the necessity of throwing vigour into the cause of the Guelfic allies of the Papacy, could not but prove a matter of considerable satisfaction at Florence, and a still greater to the House of Durazzo at Naples. Boniface lost no time in declaring King Ladislaus to be the only rightful monarch of that realm. Like

[1] Corio justly says, 'e vergognoso fu il vitupero dell' esercito di Giov. Galeazzo, che senza rompere una lancia, lasciasse scampare l'Acuto dal pericolo in cui versava.'—T. ii. 363.

Urban, himself a Neapolitan (of the House of Tomacelli), his family had been greatly favoured and advanced by Charles III. He now repaid benefits received at that King's hands to his widow, Margaret, and her son; moreover, as we have seen, he caused his excommunicated remains in Hungary to be reinterred with full ecclesiastical rites. Pursuing this patriotic course steadfastly till the close of the century, he experienced the triumph, in 1399, of seeing Louis II. of Anjou driven out of the kingdom.

TABLE I.—HUNGARY (Anjou).

CARLO-MARTELLO,
eldest son of Charles II., King of Naples, and Mary heiress of Stephen V. of Hungary.
m. Clemenza, daughter of Rudolf of Hapsburg, Emperor of Germany, and Anne of Hohenberg; died 1301 in Naples.

CAROBERT,
died 1342.
m. 1. Margaret, daughter of Casimir, Duke of Poland.
m. 2. Beatrice of Luxemburg, daughter of Henry VII., Emperor.
m. 3. Elizabeth, daughter of Ladislaus III., sister of Casimir III., King of Poland, 1320. She died 1381.

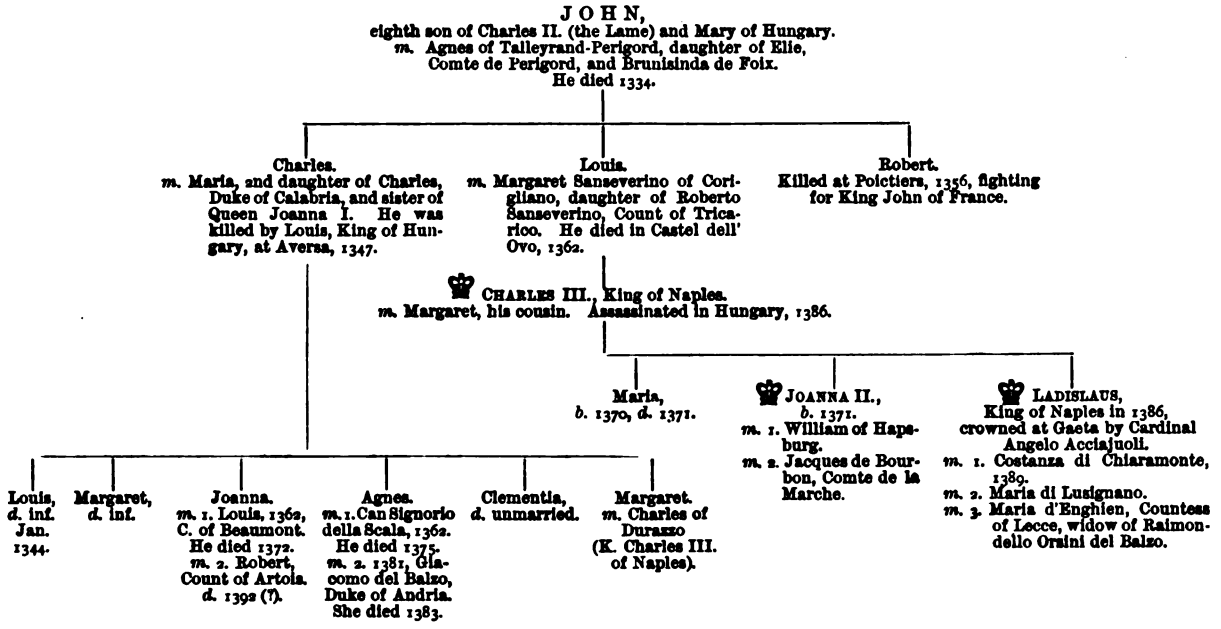
- **Charles,** *d.* inf.
- **Ladislaus,** *d.* inf. 1329.
- **LOUIS, the Great,** *b.* 1326, March 5; *d.* at Tirnovo, Sept. 12, 1382.
  m. 1. Margaret, eldest daughter of Charles IV., Emperor of Germany, and Blanche de Valois. No issue.
  m. 2. Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen, King of Bosnia. She was killed in 1386.
  - **Catherine,** *d.* 1383.
  - **Hedwig,** *m.* Ladislaus V. (Jagellon), Duke of Lithuania, King of Poland.
  - **MARY** (King Mary). *m.* Sigismund of Luxemburg, second son of Emperor Charles IV. She died 1301, Queen of Hungary, from whom Charles III. of Naples took the crown in 1386.
- **ANDREW,** *b.* Nov. 30, 1327.
  m. 1333, Joanna, daughter of Charles, Duke of Calabria, afterwards Queen Joanna I. of Naples.
  Strangled at Aversa, Sept. 17, 1345.
  - Carlo-Martello, *b.* Dec. 6, 1345; *d.* Hungary, 1348.
- **Stephen,** Vaiwode of Transylvania, Duke of Slavonia and Dalmatia, *b.* 1332.
  m. daughter of King of Bavaria; *d.* 1353 (?).
  - Elizabeth. *m.* Filippo III., Prince of Taranto.

TABLE II.—TARANTO (Anjou).

1. FILIPPO,
fourth son of Charles II., Prince of Taranto and of Achaia, Despot of Romania.
m. 1. Ithamar, daughter of Nicephorus-Ducas Comnenus, Despot of Morea. She died 1308.—Carlo killed at Monte Catino, 1315.
m. 2. Caterina, daughter of Charles, Count of Valois, and Caterina de Courtenay, daughter of Emperor Baldwin II. She died 1347. He died 1331.

- Roberto, Prince of Taranto and Achaia, Despot of Romania, Emperor Titular of Constantinople. *m.* Sept. 1347, Marie de Bourbon, daughter of Louis, Duke de Bourbon, and widow of Guy de Lusignan, son of Hugo, King of Cyprus. Died 1364.
- LUDOVICO or LUIGI, *b.* 1320. ♛ *m.* Aug. 1347, JOANNA, his cousin, daughter of Charles, Duke of Calabria, Queen of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, widow of Andrew, younger brother of King Louis of Hungary.
  - Francesca, *d.* 1352, aged 3 years. He died May 26, 1362.
  - Maria, *d.* inf.
- Filippo II. *m.* Violante, daughter of James II. of Aragon. Died 1328, *s.p.*
- Filippo III. *m.* 1. Maria, 2nd daughter of Charles, Duke of Calabria, and sister of Queen Joanna I. *m.* 2. Elisabeth, daughter of Stephen of Hungary, Duke of Dalmatia. He died 1371.
- Bianca. *m.* Raimond Berenger of Aragon, son of James II.
- Beatrice. *m.* Walter VI. of Brienne, Duke of Athens
- Joanna. *m.* Oysalm, King of Armenia.
- Margaret. *m.* 1. Edward, King of Scotland; *m.* 2. Francesco del Balzo, Duke of Andria and Count of Montescaglioso.
  - Antonietta del Balzo. *m.* Federigo III., King of Sicily. 1373.
  - Giacomo del Balzo. *m.* Agnes of Durazzo, widow of Can Signorio della Scala of Verona. He died 1384.

TABLE III.—DUKES OF DURAZZO (Anjou).


JOHN,
eighth son of Charles II. (the Lame) and Mary of Hungary.
m. Agnes of Talleyrand-Perigord, daughter of Elie, Comte de Perigord, and Brunisinda de Foix.
He died 1334.
Charles.
m. Maria, 2nd daughter of Charles, Duke of Calabria, and sister of Queen Joanna I. He was killed by Louis, King of Hungary, at Aversa, 1347.
Louis.
m. Margaret Sanseverino of Corigliano, daughter of Roberto Sanseverino, Count of Tricarico. He died in Castel dell' Ovo, 1362.
Robert.
Killed at Poictiers, 1356, fighting for King John of France.
CHARLES III., King of Naples.
m. Margaret, his cousin. Assassinated in Hungary, 1386.
Maria,
b. 1370, d. 1371.
JOANNA II.,
b. 1371.
m. 1. William of Hapsburg.
m. 2. Jacques de Bourbon, Comte de la Marche.
LADISLAUS,
King of Naples in 1386, crowned at Gaeta by Cardinal Angelo Acciajuoli.
m. 1. Costanza di Chiaramonte, 1389.
m. 2. Maria di Lusignano.
m. 3. Maria d'Enghien, Countess of Lecce, widow of Raimondello Orsini del Balzo.
Louis,
d. inf. Jan. 1344.
Margaret,
d. inf.
Joanna.
m. 1. Louis, 1362, C. of Beaumont. He died 1372.
m. 2. Robert, Count of Artois.
d. 1392 (?).
Agnes.
m. 1. Can Signorio della Scala, 1362. He died 1375.
m. 2. 1381, Giacomo del Balzo, Duke of Andria. She died 1383.
Clementia,
d. unmarried.
Margaret.
m. Charles of Durazzo (K. Charles III. of Naples).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Year.	Naples.	Rome.	France.	Milan.	Germany.	Hungary.	Eminent Men.	England.
1382	Joanna I., Charles III. (of Durazzo), and Margaret.	Urban VI. (Anti-Pope Clement VII. at Avignon.)	Charles VI.	Bernabo (Visconti).	Emperor Wenceslaus (K. of Romans).	Louis the Great, *d.* Mary I.	John Ball. Wat Tyler. Philip Van Artevelde, *ob.*	Richard II.
1383	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1384	...	...	...	...	...	...	Wiclif, *ob.*	...
1385	...	...	...	Gian Galeazzo (Visconti).	...	Charles III. (of Naples).	...	...
1386	Ladislaus and Margaret.	...	...	...	...	...	Chaucer, 1329–1400.	...
1387	...	...	...	...	...	Mary I.	...	...
1388	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1389	...	Boniface IX. (Tomacelli).	...	...	...	...	Hafiz (poet) *ob.*	...
1390	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1391	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

A MEDIÆVAL ASTROLOGER

CECCO D'ASCOLI,

POET, ASTROLOGER, PHYSICIAN.

1257 ?–1327.

THE subject of this essay takes us back to the latter half of the thirteenth century, to a period in which Christian Intellect, like a plain that had long lain blackened by partly exhausted fires, was commencing to put forth fresh growths. Had it been actually in her power to do so, the Church would have unquestioningly extirpated these growths. Nevertheless, as she was constituted, it seemed easier, or rather far more convenient, for her to modify and control their development as in turn they arose. She, therefore, may be said to have laid down as a fundamental dogma that, though obeying the natural law of their being, they were to be dependent for existence upon her permission, otherwise to be absolute vassals to her will. Speculations and inquiries into phenomena were to be guided and disciplined by scriptural text or patristic dogma alone. Learning, outside theology, was to be considered protected in so far as its professors obeyed this despotic

injunction,—heretical, in so far as they disobeyed it. Theology in her arrogance cried out, 'I can explain all things. Death to those who do not accept my explanation!'

Two of the inevitable consequences of this disastrous and tyrannical limitation of the Spirit of Inquiry were intellectual servility or hypocrisy, on the one hand, and perilous, occasionally fatal, audacity, on the other. The growth of true learning was thus cruelly contorted as well as retarded. Curiosity, however, in the long-run proved more enduring than fear; with the result for mankind that Learning has swallowed up Theology, as a forest swallows up a deserted city. Moreover, though autocratic and conservative, the Church herself was not stagnated, but evolutionary, and slowly, though reluctantly, adaptive.

In order, then, to judge of the kind of restricted and superstitious atmosphere in which Francesco Stabile, Astrologer, Physician, and Poet, grew up, lived his day, and ultimately died at the hands of the Inquisition, let us at some length regard the development of the sciences then struggling for existence.

Had a definite understanding and satisfactory explanation of physical phenomena been miraculously within the power of the Church, there would have been little call upon the speculative powers of studious laymen. The Church, nevertheless, was herself so ignorant that she had thus far, however

willing, and even eager, been able to define very little in respect of such things; leaving, therefore, ample room for secular inquiry in every branch of observed phenomena. What rendered her pretended boundary lines still more hazy and transgressible by laymen, was the fact that she had adopted most of her ideas on such subjects from Pagan sources, and she now began to put forth these borrowed ideas under disguises so flimsy and vaporous, that it would have been exceedingly difficult to say where Pagan tradition ended and Christian embroidering began. So that as long as speculators did not actually defy the ecclesiastical autocracy, but either openly acknowledged or humbly conceded to its judgment, they remained tolerably safe; but when they showed the least tendency to diverge into paths of independent research, they, as it were, encountered angels with flaming swords standing in the way. The tree of knowledge might be perceived by the eye, the rustle of its leaves might be apprehended by the ear; but neither blossom nor fruit might be touched, far less gathered. The Church was the re-embodiment of the old Jehovah; a dark, jealous, and vindictive omnipotence.

The beliefs of the multitude, especially outside the centres of learning, revealed their Pagan origin far less opaquely than did those of the Church, though it is true they had vastly degenerated. In out-of-the-way places men still clung to the rites practised by their forefathers, and the ancient deities,

where not actually worshipped, were constantly regarded as mighty demons fully worthy of the profound respect begotten by timidity. Virgil and Merlin were looked upon as puissant enchanters. Diana and Hecate were still tutelary deities.[1] Dante shows us how Hades and Tartarus were combined in the Christian Hell. The air was equally full of saintly miracles and demonic manifestations, and it was difficult for the ignorant to believe that the Church could do more than barely hold her own against her all-powerful adversary. The powers of light and the powers of darkness were struggling for mastery. Universal credulity prevailed in regard to the miraculous or supernatural, whether of good or of evil; but the superior familiarity with which men could regard things evil, not too secretly stimulated their respect for the devil. The boundaries they could draw for themselves between the conception of a vindictive Deity and a maleficent Satan must indeed have been extremely hazy. The manifestations of Divine wrath and Satanic mischief naturally bore a strong family resemblance, and Satan doubtless often successfully contested the credit of the display. The same phenomena might be interpreted the glorious purposes of God or the superb devices of the devil, and thus temptingly was opened the door for superstitious, but eager and persevering, speculation. Did not the Church herself admit that

[1] Alfred Maury, La Magie et l'Astrologie, p. 176. J. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 260.

'rains and winds, and whatsoever occurs by local impulse alone, can be caused by demons'? 'It is a dogma of faith that the demons can produce wind and storm, and can rain fire from heaven.'[1] Albertus Magnus, in his 'De Potentia Dæmonum,' tells how a certain salve dropped into a well caused a whirlwind. Wherefore displays which were usually attributable to God might nevertheless be sometimes occasioned by the powers of Hell.

Here, then, was a state of semi-authorised belief in direct sympathy with the polytheistic tendencies from which Catholicism vainly declares its mission to have been to wean the world. If Satan could work marvels to impress the multitude, the Church pretended she could at least do likewise, and be even with him. History was, as it were, repeating the wonders respectively performed before Pharaoh by Moses and by the Chaldeans. All intellectual seed fell, one way or another, in superstitious furrows. There was warrant for fanatical intensity of faith; but there was also warrant for belief in the wildest and darkest imaginings, especially for belief in the vindictive powers of the but half-subjugated ancient deities. In such a state of things, it was but natural fresh questions and doubtful points of all kinds should crop up to tempt the dialectical acumen of the schoolmen or to fascinate the attention of the experimental inquirer.

[1] Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theol. I. quest. lxxx. As Maury points out, this was the origin of ringing the bells during storms. See also Rydberg, Magic of the Middle Ages, p. 73.

The main standpoint of the Church was nominally based upon the saying of St. Augustine—'Nothing is to be accepted save on the authority of Scripture, since greater is that authority than all the powers of the human mind,'[1] and upon his dictum as to the nullity of celestial influences. Nevertheless, in things regarded as supernatural, the authority of Scripture was at once peculiarly limited, and its words subjected to the most diverse interpretations. Moreover, one interpretation, after the manner of proverbs, modified another, according as it appealed to variously excited imaginations. For theological or party purposes, texts in reference to the same subject could readily be utilised in opposition to one another. Besides, were not passages of a highly figurative style susceptible of exceedingly elastic renderings? However, to this scriptural ruling, enlarged and expanded as it had been by the early Fathers, the Church now subjected all doctrines regarding storms, eclipses, comets, earthquakes, planetary conjunctions, demoniac possessions, epidemical visitations, &c., and in this apparently illimitable field of natural or supernatural phenomena intellectual men like Roger Bacon and Albertus, subject to theological censorship and terrifying cautions, were permitted to speculate. They were on no account to forget that their business in so doing was to harmonise phenomena and the Fathers.

But these men soon came to perceive that their personal safety lay either in extreme self-control by

[1] Augustine, De Civ. Dei, lib. v. c. 1-7.

totally avoiding certain engrossing subjects, or else in busying themselves with tamely and ingeniously reconciling Pagan speculations with the views of the Church,—an attitude and occupation now comfortably indulged in by so many Churchmen toward the scientific revelations of our own day. Nevertheless all did not so consult their own safety, as we see by the examples of Bacon himself,[1] Arnauld de Villeneuve, and Pietro d'Abano. General public sympathy with their trade was in their favour, but, unfortunately for them, there existed, as it were, no true 'middle class' of intellect to take up at once and fertilise the bold ideas of these studious inquirers. The Emperor Frederick was dead, and his line extinct. So that we are confronted in the history of those times with certain figures of entirely isolated giants, of great men, like Bacon, Pietro d'Abano, Ockham, &c., apparently born out of their proper age, and in sympathetic touch with far other and later days.[2]

In any case, the inquiring observer could not but run continual risks. The isolation necessary to and begotten of the nature of his studies rendered him an object of awe and curiosity to the ignorant, of enmity to the vain or jealous, and of suspicion to the orthodox or bigoted. He was thus frequently in

[1] With result that he was on two separate occasions condemned by the Council of his Order (the Franciscan), and was imprisoned for many years.

[2] Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas took subtle care for their self-preservation, as also did Raymond Lully.

danger of being taken for a magician, for an intermediary 'twixt the powers of darkness and mankind—in fact, for a direct agent of Satan. In his solitude he was supposed to hold communion with demons, and to win from them the secrets he was credited with possessing. He was, therefore, by some observed with suspicious dread, but consulted with implicit faith or flattered with abject servility by others. Moreover, he was continually over-watched by the critical and credulous eyes of the Church. With men of strong character, frankness and openness proved of little avail, and these qualities were easily misinterpreted by minds of an opposite determination; while with weaker men the sense of easily acquired power and the prospect of rapid gain could not but be agreeably stimulated by the perception of the timidity they at first quite involuntarily inspired.

The revival of Latin in the eleventh century had imported into Christian theology the logic of Aristotle,[1] which was readily adapted and assimilated by countless professors; so much so, that the Greek philosopher's doctrines grew to be regarded with as much intellectual deference as were those of St. Augustine, and their respective influences thus became gradually dove-tailed. In the following century, however, the 'Metaphysic' and 'Natural History,' which had for long formed the central and sacred, though not unpolluted, Zemzem of the

[1] 'The logic of Aristotle seems to have been partly known in the eleventh century.'—Hallam, Middle Ages, iii. 426.

flourishing Arabian philosophy at Bagdad, at Cordova, and in Morocco, were likewise imported into Italy through the medium of Latin translations, and soon became the cause of a terrible ferment in Christendom, which lasted through several generations.

Let us now, therefore, briefly consider the manner and certain peculiar results of this invasion or revival of Paganism, as it affected the atmosphere of European learning and philosophy. It cannot be denied to have shed very considerable light therein; yet it was the light not as that of the sun, but as of a luminous haze or nebulosity, which, for the time being, rather deepened the mystery than irradiated the ways of learning. It brought with it a resuscitation of the ancient mystical science of astrology, which the mediæval mind,—long saturated with love and dread of the marvellous, and fascinated with the grotesqueness of its own misconceptions,—was only too predisposed to receive. On the other hand, it likewise imported a fresh and improved school of medicine, which was destined to modify many superstitious notions held in regard to the nature of diseases and their treatment.

I have stated indirectly that until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although accepted as a ruling authority on logic and dialectic, Aristotle was not known in Christendom by his other and greater works. Had the 'Physic' and 'Metaphysic' been to hand in those days, it is more than probable that the entire works of the Greek philosopher

would have been promptly banned, and St. Augustine would have reigned supreme autocrat over that one domain of logic, dry, huge, and barren as his own African deserts. These important works, however, had been fertilising intellects far outside the community of the Latin Church;—among the Moors, or philosophised town Arabs of Bagdad and of Cordova, of Palermo, of Toledo, and Morocco;—had indeed been kept and nursed as rare and precious plants in the cities of civilised Islam. During the darkest era of Christianity these great centres had been flourishing and busily developing those seeds of light which they had received from the decadent Greeks and scattered Israelites.

This brings us to one of the most remarkable events in mediæval history, namely, that by means of which, through the agency of mere Scandinavian freebooters, Christianity was destined to receive enlightenment from the Semitic intellect it so inconsistently despised, from the Mohammedanism it so ignorantly cursed;—and how Italian literature, of which the world has come to be so justly proud, like the sun himself, was to take its glorious rise.

I am aware of no deduction in literary history based upon evidence more conclusive than has already abundantly been made known on this point. The real foundation of the Renaissance is to be discovered in the Norman occupation of Sicily, and the materials for that foundation in the intellectual labours of the Jews and Arabs of Palermo and Cordova.

Owing to toleration for heretics on the part of the enlightened Moslems, there had been considerable intimacy between the Moors and Christians in Spain long previously. The former not only had permitted Christians to observe their own creed in the towns, but had admitted Christian children to Moorish schools and Christian adults to offices of honour in the Moorish Court.[1] Gerbert (afterwards supreme head of the Church in 1000 A.D. as Sylvester II.) had even received his education in Andalusia, and undoubtedly his later reputation as a necromancer was gained from the unusual superiority of his learning thus acquired. He is believed by some to have been the first to introduce Arabic numerals into Christendom. Nevertheless, isolated instances of contact did not constitute chronic relationship or sustained influence. Gerbert was only Pope for four years. But the Christians in Spain evidently had no reason for quitting a country where they could enjoy the arts of learning and peace which more and more assimilated them with their highly civilised Semitic masters.[2]

[1] 'The public schools and libraries of the Spanish Arabs were resorted to, not only by those of their own faith at home and in the East, but by Christians from different parts of Europe.'—Ticknor, Hist. Spanish Litt., vol. iii. p. 392.

[2] 'The inevitable result was that, in the course of ages, they gradually yielded something of their national character. They came at last to wear the Moorish dress; they adopted Moorish manners; and they served in the Moorish armies and in places of honour at the courts of Cordova and Granada.'—Ibid., p. 393.

'In 1254, Alfonso the Wise, when, by a solemn decree dated at Burgos, 8th December, he was making provision for education at

The century in which Gerbert died witnessed the conquest of Saracen Sicily by the Normans under Robert Guiscard and his son Roger, ending with the capture of the great Moslem metropolis, Palermo. Now a transformation took place which in itself might almost be termed magical, both by reason of its rapidity and from its having involved the conquerors themselves.

This splendid race of Northern adventurers, in addition to their unusual physique, possessed a mental elasticity that only awaited fitting opportunity for right and rich development. Just as in the Mohammedan invasion of Persia (but more rapidly than was the case there), the uncouth victors became in turn subjugated by the superior culture of the defeated natives, so in Sicily the triumphant Normans soon found themselves adopting the habits, and a little later the ideas, of their Saracenic subjects. So successfully and completely did this particular transformation take place, that in a couple of generations the toleration accorded the Christians at Cordova could be matched by the toleration accorded the Moslems at Palermo. It would have puzzled a traveller who visited Sicily in those days to declare whether the rulers and their Courts were more

Seville, established Arabic schools there as well as Latin. Indeed, still later, and even down to the fourteenth century, the public Acts and monuments of that part of Spain were often written in Arabic, and the signatures to important ecclesiastical documents, though the body of the instrument might be in Latin or Spanish, were sometimes made in the Arabic character.'—Ibid., p. 395.

Moslem or more Christian. Except in actual faith and physical appearance, the respective differences were annulled. The mosque flourished side by side with the temple of Christ, and the latter amiably borrowed devices from the limited architecture of the former. The costume was influenced in like manner; moreover, the simple Norman dialect gave way to the richer Semitic. Consequently, the Norman King of Sicily far more resembled a Moslem Kaliph than a Christian monarch. While his power for governance remained steadfast to the hardy character he had inherited, his Court and culture were subdued to what they worked in. He became the patron of sciences unknown even at Rome or in Paris, and breathed an atmosphere the most intellectual the world could then boast. His poets, physicians, astrologers, merchants, and geographers were all Arabs or Jews, and in the chief mosque at Palermo were suspended the supposed bones of the prophet of the Moslem intellect,—even of Aristotle himself.

The glory of the Hauteville dynasty culminated, after nearly two centuries of rule, in the infant son of Constance, later the renowned Frederick II., who seems to have united in himself qualities as opposite as those which adorned our own Edward I., and those for which the late Emperor of Brazil was conspicuous among modern rulers. In him centred all the fine tendencies of his Norman ancestry, as well as a full measure of the resolution and magnanimity of his Swabian grandfather, Barbarossa, and

1194 A.D.

he carried on their best designs and traditions by his enlightened patronage of learning. A master of Arabic, we find him bringing himself under the shadow of Papal suspicion by according unstinted toleration to his Jewish[1] and Moslem subjects, and still more by his friendly relations with Sultan Kamil, and his bloodless diplomatic capture of Jerusalem. One of his proudest and most enduring achievements was the foundation of the University of Naples. His famous secretary, Pietro delle Vigne, tells us that his master sent letters out over all his realms of Apulia and Sicily, to Germany, and to lands beyond the seas, inviting learned men, irrespective of creed, to come and reside at Naples and Salerno, and take up professorships; and that they freely responded.[2] When, a little later, Bologna rebelled from his sway, he commanded the students of the recalcitrant University to transfer themselves to that of Naples.

These professors not only fulfilled their duties of teaching and conferring degrees, but occupied their leisure in translating the scientific works of the Greek and Moslem sages into Latin; and thus, one after another, were introduced the medical and philosophic works of Avenzoar, Avicenna, Averroes,

[1] Barbarossa was himself accused of extending too great toleration to the Jews. Milman's History of the Jews, iii. 198; Von Raumer, Die Hohenstauffen, iii. 486, 498.

[2] Among those who came were Judah Ben Solomon Cohen of Toledo and Jacob Ben Abba Morri. Munk, Mélanges, p. 335; Vie et Correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne, par A. Huillard-Bréhólles. Paris, 1866.

and Ibn-Maimun, the famous Rabbi, including their versions and commentaries on the works of Aristotle.[1] The fresh vigour given to learning of all kinds by this grand transfusion may as easily be imagined as, on the other hand, can be imagined the way in which the Church soon began to regard it. The herb thus implanted grew up as it were in a night, and shed seed on the morrow; so that when the angry gardener came months later, spade in hand, to extirpate it, his most violent efforts were destined to be baffled. In fact, the Universities of Salerno and Naples, being secular institutions under the immediate patronage of the Emperor, the ecclesiastical authorities were at first unable to make head against them; and though they succeeded later on, their success was very partial, and the foundation laid by Frederick, in spite of every effort of the Church to ruin and remove it, became the foundation of the edifice of modern science. Emulation between these universities quickly kindled that of similar institutions, and the channels of trade became the channels of learning.

With this flood of Moslem and Israelite erudition

[1] 'The principal share of glory in the great work of translation, which occupied the entire thirteenth century and the first quarter of the fourteenth, belongs to the family Tibbonides of Andalusia, which had settled at Lunel.'—'Averroés,' E. Renan, p. 186.

'It was from Toledo that Michael Scott came with translations of Aristotle and Averrhoes, and was warmly welcomed at the court of Frederick. Hermannus Alemannus continued Michael's work at Toledo, and brought versions of other books to Manfred, who inherited his father's tastes.'—Lea, Hist. Inquis., iii. 561.

was reintroduced a science which, after flourishing in Greek and Roman days, had encountered the anathemas of the early Popes, not only on account of the fatalism its cultivation involved, but because it obviously trespassed on the demesnes of the Church. This was the science of Astrology. Although patronised of old by the Emperors, the Astrologers of Rome had proved a frequent source of political agitation,[1] and their science was alternately favoured and rigorously proscribed. Nevertheless, human curiosity as to events in the future always survived momentary chagrin, and the astrologer maintained a place of honour at Court under most of the Cæsars. The later Emperors, obeying the Fathers, frequently interdicted the science, although both of them held it in awe.[2] Their denunciations, therefore, however severe, were shorn of much of their efficacy. To their perceptive powers its actual vanity was not at all apparent; on the contrary, they timorously believed in what they banned. Under these circumstances, Origen[3] and St. Augustine might as well have forbidden the stars to shine, as forbid men to practise arts which gratified their greed and sense of power. Besides, did not the Old Testament declare the sweet influences of the Pleiades? and

[1] Mainly because they often were tempted to predict the demise of Cæsar.

[2] St. Augustine, De Genes. ad Litter., ii. 16, 35; St. Basil, Homil. vi. in Hexamen.

[3] As Milman points out, the Cabalists and Origen believed identically in the final restoration of Satan or Samiel.

did not the New Testament verify the faith of the wise men in the guiding star?[1] And did not Origen[2] himself believe comets to be possessed of souls? Nevertheless, with the increasing forceful sway of the Church the science of astrology dwindled away, until it may be said to have fallen into a cataleptic sleep, which lasted for many centuries, when suddenly it felt this re-quickening breath of Greek and Moslem learning, and straightway leapt back to conscious life, evidently refreshed by the long slumber.

Thus, rigidly banished from Christianity, astrology and magic had flourished under the patronage of the Kaliphs and among the Jewish Rabbis, as indeed among all Oriental rulers and races.[3] Faith in the influence of particular stars, comets, and planetary conjunctions had not only become an inherent instinct with Arab, Jew, and Persian, but the cultivation of the supposititious science of interpreting by their movements individual or national life had developed into an absorbing intellectual passion. Fond of everything that appealed to the imagination, they gave a double portion of their love to astrology;

[1] The Sacred Books of India relate that the births of Krishna and of Buddha were foreshewn by similar stars. Jewish legends speak of similar appearances at the births of Abraham and Moses. Bunsen's 'Angel Messiah' and Calmet's 'Fragments,' pt. viii.

[2] De Principiis, i. 7, 3. Pamphilius, Apolog., ix. 84.

[3] On the banks of the Nile astronomy is still only astrology. Burton, 'Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Mecca,' vol. ii. p. 107, *note*. 'The condition of mediæval Europe may still be perfectly realised by the traveller in Persia, where the Shah remains for days outside the walls of his capital till the constellations allow him to enter.'—Primitive Culture, vol. i. p. 119 (E. B. Tylor).

and it is surely not difficult to perceive the nature of its charms.

First of all, astrology was necessarily the aristocrat of supernatural sciences, the monarch of mystic lore. It was likewise the plutocrat, for no other science could yield such rich and immediate profit to the professor. It appealed at once to the love of money-making, to the desire of controlling the actions of others, and especially to the gratification of private revenge. Yet it would be wrong to draw the conclusion that the men who made it their profession were all tradesmen, or charlatans, or malefactors. On the contrary, there can be little doubt the greater number of astrologers implicitly believed in the predictions they made, and, moreover, possessed the courage of their opinions. Although, at all periods, the profession must have included many quacks, it is probable there was no great preponderance of these until far later times, when the fancied science became degraded by the low and ignorant class of men who made it their perilous trade, and when the mere pretence of possessing powers of divination had become a sure, though somewhat precarious, path to favour.

Beside (though apart from) natural astrology (which consisted chiefly in observation and prediction of the movements of heavenly bodies,—the direct parent of astronomy), stood the mysterious department of Judicial astrology, wherein were believed to lie the precious secrets of all mundane occurrences.

The celestial sphere was divided into twelve sections or houses, through which the various planets went their ways,—the position containing the stars about to rise being denominated 'the ascendant.' These twelve 'houses' were held to represent respectively: — Life, wealth, comrades, parents, offspring, health, marriage, death, religion, dignities, friends, and foes; and certain of them were considered to belong to particular signs or planets, which endued them with peculiar characteristics. Each 'house' and 'planet' dominated some especial state, some particular portion of the world, and some part of the human body. Hence arose the necessity on the part of the astrologer for untiring physical observation of signs and appearances, in order to be able to discriminate the admixture of various influences in any given case, and so be enabled to foretell events, either to individuals or to states. The possession of considerable learning was thus an absolute necessity for any one aspiring to pass for an astrologer,—at any rate, in the days of its revival.

The astrologer, then, being regarded by the people as one favoured with priceless gifts of prophecy, as a transmitter of celestial or demonic communications, to whom therefore the future was an open book, wherein his mental skill could infallibly decipher, led a life of study and isolation, and was expected to be conspicuously honourable in his dealings. His vocation was one of good repute among men, and his abode was held in awe both by the ignorant and

the intelligent. He was looked upon as an encyclopedia of curious learning, as a real seer. He was credited with profound knowledge of animal functions, with understanding all the states of health and disease; likewise the nature of all herbs and of all their powers, the qualities of metals, and the imagined influence of the stars and seasons upon all of these. Hence, he was doubly qualified for the professions of prophet and physician, and the duties of these professions, at the period we are considering, were in consequence frequently combined in one individual.[1]

This manifold combination of accomplishments on the part of the professed astrologer may have had no small influence in modifying the views and actions of the Church with respect to him. At first the eye of the Church determined to regard him as the direct colleague of Satan, to whom doubtless he had bartered away his soul and the souls of his dupes. Such a science, however credible, could not be cultivated without denying free-will and responsibility. The future, which he pretended to foretell, belonged only to God and to Satan. If the astrologer foretold it by no recognised divine gift or canonical medium, it followed he had recourse to the Devil.[2] Still it sometimes hap-

[1] Pietro d'Abano declares in his 'Conciliator Differentium' (1303) that astrology is inseparable from medicine.

'In the popular creed of the Middle Ages, medicine was also closely allied with witchcraft and the forbidden sciences.'—Wright, Sorcery and Magic, vol. i. p. 100.

[2] Yet, according to Cornelius Agrippa, the ideal astrologer should have unfaltering belief in the Almighty, in whose name he exercised his celestial art. De Occulta Philosophia.

pened that the astrologer foretold things decidedly beneficial to the Church or to society, such as good seasons, victory over foes, &c., which it was impossible even for ecclesiastical perversity to credit to Satan. This gave the churchman's credulity great pause. Thomas Aquinas himself urged that when astrology was utilised to predict rain or drought it was lawful.[1] So also Alonzo the Wise, in his 'Siete Partidas' extended reward and patronage to those who used occult art to dispel hailstorm and fog, or for destroying locusts and caterpillars. By this means, then, the Church began to fluctuate in her attitude towards it, now regarding its professors with extreme hostility, and anon with surprising toleration. Though in the main it was doubtless condemned, even the highest authorities winked at it, and we find the Archbishop of Ravenna, whom the Pope despatched on the crusade against Ezzelino in 1258,[2] captured by that tyrant together with his astrologer, Everard, near Brescia. Lea aptly quotes a letter of the Cardinal's, written in 1305, persuading Clement V. to leave Avignon for Rome, in which they remind him that 'each planet is most powerful in its own house.'

But let me take note that at the moment when the sciences of astrology and medicine had acquired this fresh hold upon the sunny shores of Southern Europe, the arm of the Church—an arm with very long and vengeful claws — which was

[1] Summa Theologia, sec. xc. 5. [2] Hist. Inquis., vol. iii. 438.

destined so to prune and repress their development, had been given its terrible license. The Inquisition had been actually instituted by Innocent III., the guardian of the enlightened Emperor Frederick himself; and under his successors in the pontificate, judicial astrology, as an occult, instead of an exact, science, and as a pursuit involving the doctrine of fatalism, together with many other Moslem teachings (though not the first to do so), gradually and surely came beneath the Papal and Inquisitorial ban.

Hatred on the part of the Mendicant, and jealousy on the part of the great Benedictine Order (in whose orthodox hands medical science had long stagnated), were bitterly aroused against Frederick, and, taking advantage of Papal antagonism, the grossest charges, such as that of human vivisection, the practice of occult arts, &c., were eagerly circulated in order to calumniate him and his friends. It was rumoured that he caused men to be laid open in order to study the digestive functions; that he made a habit of repeating the words attributed to Averroes, to the effect that three persons had deceived the world: Moses—the Jews; Christ—the Christians; and Mohammed—the Arabs;[1] that he privately corresponded with the Sultan of Babylon; that he preferred Saracen women, &c. Unquestionably in his steadfast patronage of Arabic philosophy and protection of the Jews we recognise

[1] Gregory IX. branded the Emperor with the authorship of the saying, which accusation Frederick vehemently denied.

one of the principal causes of the intense animosity of the Papacy towards him. Renan quotes the following lines from a Guelfic bard of the period :—

> 'Amisit astrologos et magos et vates
> Beelzebub et Ashtaroth, proprios penates,
> Tenebrarum consuleus per suos potestates,
> Spreverat Ecclesiam et mundi magnates ;' [1]

which demonstrate with ironic force the intellectual aspect in which Frederick was latterly regarded by the Church, from which he was considered to have seduced, among others, his friend, Cardinal Ubaldini.

At the same time there were springing up in the Church manifold crops of actual heretics of the Manichean order, such as the Albigenses, Cathari, Pauliciani, Stedingers, &c., in Southern France, at Oldenburg, and in Northern and Central Italy, which, both by their geographical positions and by the devoted audacity of their leaders, appealed more practically to this vengeful and vigilant arm of the Church than did the far more dangerous aspirations of Moslem rationalism, shielded as they were by the Imperial beak and talons behind the mountains of rugged Calabria. Alas! perhaps the better to protect those who studied scientifically under his sympathetic patronage, and to maintain peace with the Papacy, Frederick himself seems to have made a compromise with the Church by permitting its officers to have their ruthless way with the miserable

[1] Averroes, p. 288 (Ernest Renan).

Mendicants. This forms the ground of the famous charge of cruelty and inconsistency usually brought against the Emperor. The Inquisition possibly foresaw that it could afford to wait for the protected Averroists, astrologers, &c. It is certain that it did so. Moreover, the Emperor had little reason for feeling especially interested in the fate of the persecuted monks, seeing that they were continually assailing him with merciless rancour as an atheist and blasphemer, declaring him to the world a persecutor of his clergy, a lover of astrology, and above all, that, besides his lawful Empress, he kept a harem of Saracen concubines. Before the close of the century, Dante included the Emperor and Ubaldini in the throng of heretics who companion the Epicurean Farinata in the sixth circle of the Inferno :—

> 'More than a thousand here, he thus confessed,
> I lie with; Frederick the Second's here,
> And the Cardinal. I speak not of the rest;'[1]

while with a certainly tolerant, if not semi-sympathetic judgment, the poet places Avicenna and Averroes in that first circle of the great Pagan philosophers, in pleasant company with Orpheus, Seneca, Euclid, Ptolemy, and Galen, as Renan points out, because Dante, like Thomas Aquinas, was far from viewing Averroes as impious, or of indulging his wrath upon him, after the manner of Raymond Lully and Petrarch in the following generations.

[1] C. Tomlinson's translation.

'Averroes had not as yet been made the standard-bearer of unbelief.'[1]

Yes, it was the age of Aquinas, and Dante, and Giotto, the culmination of Papal supremacy and the germination of a new spirit of learning in Christendom. The age was ripe for it; the Church could only resist it up to a certain point, and then attempt to adapt and modify, even as she had done with Pagan rites and customs aforetime.

II.

Having thus noted some of the circumstances under which the studies of medicine and astrology began to take fresh life upon Italian soil, and the peculiar atmosphere of mingled persecution and toleration in which they were destined to thrive and bear fruit, let me now turn to the consideration of what is known of the life and death of one of the more unfortunate professors of these sciences, known to fame as Cecco d'Ascoli, and extolled by some of his contemporaries as poet, physician, and astrologer.

Since, as I am inclined to believe, neither poetic art nor physical science can be said to have benefited by his writings, it would seem that he can have little personal claim to attention. Nevertheless, we are bound to admit that Cecco was a memorable personage and lived a remarkable life (little in detail as we know of it), in a period of exceeding interest. In our

[1] Averroes, p. 246 (E. Renan).

own time Pietro Fanfani has constructed a popular novel out of the few known facts of his career. There is legitimate doubt as to the date of his birth, which Alidosi has placed in 1257, and which would make him seventy years of age at the time of his death at the hands of the Inquisition in 1327; but in any case, the last thirty years of his life included the last twenty-five of the life of Dante and the first twenty-three of that of Petrarch. Some writers, in view of the bitter expressions used by Cecco, have ventured to state that he was personally acquainted with Dante; but I have discovered no trustworthy basis for the statement, and I can only admit that such may have been the case. That he knew Petrarch is, however, certain; not at Avignon, as some have averred, but at Bologna, in the year 1322, when the poet attended the University there in order to take up his civil rights. Cecco, as we shall see, was then holding a Professorship of Philosophy there, and treading upon very dangerous ground.

As the traveller of to-day quits Ancona on his journey southward, and skirts the desolate strand of the Adriatic, he crosses many a small stream, bearing its muddy tribute to that sullen sea. After distantly descrying Loreto and Fermo perched on an inland ridge, he comes upon the mouth of a stream somewhat larger in volume, and the sea is seen to be discoloured far out by the rush of its turbid waters. This river is the Tronto, and has flowed some fourteen miles since it left Ascoli, an antique town of twenty

thousand souls. Should he be tempted to pay it a visit, he will not be unrewarded for his trouble. The mountain scenery behind it is exceptionally grand; the snowy summits display their majestic charms to fascinating advantage in the not uncommon fiery sunsets of that district. As far as the town itself is concerned, Ascoli contains enough to entertain him for at least a day. The various churches and cloisters exhibit interesting intermixtures of Lombard and Gothic styles, at once unusual and picturesque, while among them appear structures dating from Roman times, such as the noble Ponte Solesta, consisting of a single span arch over the Tronto, a Roman double gateway, and the remains of an Ionic and Corinthian temple. Indeed, the possession of so many architectural objects early gave fame to Asculum Picenum :—

'Asculum, excelsos turres, pontesque valete!'

To-day the town thrives by manufacturing paper, sealing-wax, and woollen materials, which explains the presence of the small and attractive fleet of coasters usually to be seen at the mouth of the Tronto.

Here, then, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, was born to the wife of Simone Stabile a son, Francesco, afterwards to be known to history as Cecco d'Ascoli, he whom Petrarch (before he took an intense and contemptuous dislike to all whom he could include under the banner of Averroes) deigned to reverence :—

'Tu sei il grand Ascolan, che il mondo allume.'[1]

[1] Crescimbeni quotes this line as the commencement of a sonnet of Petrarch. The rest of the sonnet, however, has not come down to us.

Possibly the next mention we have connecting him with his native town is contained in a statement by Appiani (written, however, two hundred years later) in his 'Apology' for his famous townsman.[1] In this work the writer declares that Cecco once devised a plan for conducting the waters of the Adriatic right up to Ascoli, but that he was prevented carrying it out through the citizens deeming they would thus be deprived of the advantages of the rich valley of the Tronto.

Whence Cecco obtained his professional education should be no difficult matter for conjecture. The locality of his birth, the nature of his profession, and his friendship with Cino da Pistoia, point to Naples or Salerno, possibly to both.[2] He may have there attended the lectures of the 'enlightened Doctor,' Raymond Lully,[3] within an hour's walk of that reputed tomb of Virgil, which in those days had become the Mecca of European magicians, a spot then fully as awe-inspiring to the Italian mind as the Horselberg proved to the German. At any rate, he found himself in one of the vortices of the flood of Scholastic philosophy, amid the somewhat blinding spindrift that arose round the names of Moses,

[1] See Dom. Bernini, Compendio di tutte l'Eresie, tom. iii. sec. xiv.

[2] In the kingdom of Naples any one desiring to practise as a doctor had to undergo five years of medical study, and two examinations for his license and doctorate before masters of the school of Salerno, and then to spend a year upon trial. Paul Lacroix, 'Science and Literature in the Middle Ages.'

[3] Who, however, devoted his powers expressly to combating Moslem philosophy.

Aristotle, and Averroes, in which so many intellects may be said to have been overwhelmed. There, we may take it, he absorbed the Ptolemaic mathematical treatises, those of Nemorarius, and especially that by Giovanni Sacrobosco[1] (John Holiwood), on the 'Sphere,' the apparent significance of which, at a later date, induced him to write a certain fatal commentary upon it. There he would have wandered over the endless argumentative deserts of the writings of Albertus Magnus, perhaps have penetrated the 'Arcana' of Roger Bacon; while in medicine he would have studied the great 'Canon' of Avicenna, together with the writings of Almansur and Rhases; in order, finally, to become himself a notable product of the ceaseless wrangle then raging between Scholastic theology and metaphysic,—between the Scotists and the Thomists; outwardly, therefore, conforming to orthodoxy, with a strong determination towards infidelity: truly not an ignorant man, but one possibly without serious convictions; pedantic, without independence; with the encouragement of a little success, likely perhaps, if not of a steadfast character, to develop into something resembling a solemn charlatan. Alas, poor Cecco! keep watch on thy theology and thy astrology, and a strict look-out for the 'dogs of the Lord!'

By accepting the theory of his having obtained his curriculum at Naples or Salerno, we are able the

[1] Of Oxford, who taught mathematics at Paris. His 'Sphæra Mundi' was an abridgment of the 'Kosmography' of Claudius Ptolemeus.

more easily to account for his introduction to the Papal Court at Avignon, to which he is said to have been appointed physician in 1316; for King Robert of Naples was Count of Provence and the most subservient tool of the Popes. Moreover, the intercourse between the two courts was necessarily of the most intimate nature, Italians frequently holding appointments at Avignon, and the chief officials of the Neapolitan Court being invariably Provençals. A native of South Italy and a man of marked attainments ran no risk of being long overlooked by a monarch who, distantly imitating Frederick II. and Alfonso the Wise, prided himself on his love of culture and his enlightened patronage of learned men.

The Pope then reigning was John XXII., Jacques d'Euse (himself a former favourite of King Robert, and likewise educated at Naples), who had just been elected to succeed Clement V.; while the widowed Queen of France was Clemenza,[1] niece of that King.

Nothing, therefore, could have seemed more favourable for Cecco's career as a physician. He was thus backed by the patronage of his own King, and by that of the head of Christendom; both of them men of considerable learning—especially the Pope, who was reputed an authority both in Canon and Civil Law, into which indeed he had been professionally inducted. John's own youthful residence in Naples may have been considerably responsible for the depth of his superstition, which events in France at this

[1] Sister of Carobert, King of Hungary.

particular moment greatly tended to accentuate in him. The late French King, Louis le Hutin, was believed to have been done to death by the skill of sorcerers. Partly melted waxen images of the King and his brother had been discovered, and a magician and a witch were executed for the crime. The power of Satan was considered to be more than ever active. Heresies, terrible epidemics, and derangements, deaths of kings and atmospheric disturbances, were all attributed to his now especially vigorous maleficence. In old time had not Christ himself been caught up into an exceeding high mountain and tempted of the Devil? Had not the Devil entered into a herd of Gadarene swine? Had he not always manifested masterly powers of self-transformation? Did he not, for reasons of his own, make choice of special moments? Was he not now subtly annoying the Church under a marvellous variety of disguises? And above all, were not such men as denied his powers most evidently working in his interests? To deny the potency of Satan was equal heresy with denying the omnipotence of God; for had not God delegated certain powers to Satan.

Only ten years before, at Padua, the Inquisitors had lighted a second time upon Pietro d'Abano,[1] a celebrated Averroist philosopher and physician, who was supposed to be keeping in durance, shut up in

[1] Éloy, Diction. de la Médicine. Mazzuchelli, Racc. d'Opuscoli Scientifici e Filologici. Grässe, Bibliotheca Magica et Pneumatica. Leipzig.

a crystal, seven familiar spirits. To him was imputed the convenient faculty of successfully summoning back to his purse the monies paid out of it. He had made himself a master in the study of poisons and their antidotes; and further, he had not only dared to deny the existence of demons, but had pretended to cast the horoscope of the Faith itself. Among other things, he declared that the great monarchic changes in the world were due to the periodic conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn in the head of Aries. It is true he escaped his sentence (perhaps by poisoning himself, for he died during his trial), but it was ordered his bones should be dug up, and they were burned in public.[1]

Only six years before, 1310 (?), had died on his way to visit Clement V. at Avignon the far more famous Arnaud de Villeneuve,[2] whom the same Inquisition had accused of sorcery and magic,[3] but who had escaped burning at their hands through the especial protection of King James II. of Aragon.

Truly the times were perilous, if profitable, for all inquiring rationalists. Fortunately for Cecco, something (the nature of which we have no details,—whether the displeasure of the Pope, the envy of

[1] This did not prevent Padua from erecting his statue; and, according to Lea (Hist. Inquis.), Federigo, Duke of Urbino, paid him the same tribute.

[2] Arnaldi, Vita. Campegius. Pierre J. Haitze, Vie d'Arnauld.

[3] 'He more especially investigated the mysteries of chemical science as bearing upon medicine. It is said he was the first who made alcohol.'—P. Lacroix. Pelayo, Heterodoxos Espanoles.

rivals,[1] or his own longing to return to Italy) caused him to give up his post at Avignon, and he journeyed to Florence. In the following year the Pope discovered a conspiracy to poison him and certain of his Cardinals. The conspirators, moreover, had made three little waxen figures representing his Holiness, which they placed in magical circles and pricked with nails.[2] John wrote to the Bishop of Riez: 'Les magiciens, Jacques, dit Brabançon,—Jean Dumant, médecin,—ont préparé des breuvages pour nous empoisonner, nous et quelques cardinaux nos frères, et n'ayant pas eu la commodité de nous les faire prendre, ils ont fait des images de cire, sous nos propres noms, pour attaquer notre vie en piquant ces images. Mais Dieu nous a préservés, et a fait tomber en nos mains trois de ces images diaboliques.'

The conspirators, over and above the doctors, included Geraud, Bishop of Cahors, who being tried and condemned, was flayed alive, then paraded down the streets of Avignon, and finally hurled, still living,

[1] 'Poursuivi par l'envie il retourna en Italie.'—De Sade, Mémoires Petrarque, liv. i. 47.

[2] 'The first step in this process was to model in clay or virgin wax an effigy of the intended victim; and the next was to kill a swallow, the heart of which was placed under the right arm of the effigy, and the liver under the left. Then the sacrilegious operation began; the body and limbs of the wax or clay figure were pricked with new needles to the accompaniment of the most horrible imprecations. . . . In other cases, the effigy was made out of earth taken from a graveyard and mixed with dead men's bones. An inscription in mystic characters completed the bewitchment and caused the death of the victim in a short time.'—P. Lacroix, Science and Literature in the Middle Ages, p. 228.

on to a funeral pyre in front of the Vice-Regent's palace. The others experienced a similar fate; and the Pope, quivering with rage and terror, forthwith fulminated a terrific edict against every imaginable form of occult science.

Meanwhile, at Florence, Cecco was carrying on his two professions, writing his poems, predicting political events, and saying rather caustic things; with considerable circumspection, doubtless, but with profit, and we do not hear more of him till 1322, the year following Dante's death, when he was called to fill a Chair of Philosophy at Bologna. There, presently, he and his colleagues, Giovanni Andrea Calderini and Cino da Pistoia, numbered among their scholars the future poet of Vaucluse and his brother Gerard.

Now Bologna was a much suspected University. Fatalistic materialism had by this time found special nourishment in its learned atmosphere. The experimental spirit thrived beneath the dial-shadows cast by the Garisenda and Asinelli, although hard by stood the actual tomb and shrine of St. Dominic, representing its bitterest foes.[1] Even ecclesiastics were not considered to be secure from the devices of the evil one there; for we find the same Pope John instituting judicial proceedings against the Bishop

[1] Bologna University (1158) is the oldest in Italy, antedating that of Naples and that of Padua by more than half a century. Another remarkable contrast is afforded in the same city and in the same Church of San Domenico by the juxtaposition of the tomb of King Enzius, the son of Frederick II., and Taddeo di Pepoli.

of Aix for professing and practising magical arts at Bologna.[1]

It behoved Cecco, therefore, to be circumspect. It happened, nevertheless, that he now issued his commentary on Sacrobosco's treatise 'De Sphæra Mundi.' It is difficult to believe that he was unaware of the extreme peril of this proceeding, though he may carelessly have overlooked the channel through which that peril would be likely to approach him. This work, it seems, soon fell into the hands of one Tommaso, son of a rival physician, Dino del Garbo.[2] These two, father and son, having taken note of certain portions of the work, gladly plotted the ruin of its author, by denouncing him to the Inquisition. In consequence, Cecco presently received citation to appear at the Convent adjoining the Church of San Domenico, where, upon examination by the Inquisitor, Fra Lamberto del Cordiglio, he was promptly found guilty of propagating pernicious doctrines concerning Necessity and the Will of God. 'Egli afferito generasi nel cielo spiriti maligni li quali in tempo d'alcune constellazioni, potevano forzasi a scendere in terra e operano maravigliosi prodigi, ed essere una necessita assoluta negli influssi delle stelle, con la quale accordasi il voler di Dio.'[3]

[1] Milman, Lat. Christ., vii. 343. Ammirato, Istoria di Firenze, lib. xii. C.D.E.

[2] G. Villani, Vita d'Illustri Fiorentini. Ugolino Verini, De Illust. Urbis.

[3] Bernini (Domen.), Storia di tutte l'Heresie, tom. iii. sec. 14.

Dec. 16, 1324. After having been grimly cautioned, he was ordered to make a general confession of his sins, was warned to discontinue his scientific pursuits, and was commanded to repeat daily thirty aves and paternosters. Every Sunday he was compelled to attend a sermon preached by a Dominican Friar. All his astrological books were placed in the hands of Fra Alberto (Dominican), and finally he was condemned to pay a fine of seventy Bolognese pounds.[1]

Feeling himself fortunate to have thus escaped with his life, the atmosphere of Bologna naturally seemed to disagree with him; and as soon as opportunity offered, Cecco resigned his professorship and returned to Florence.

Crescembeni speaks of his commentary ('De Sphæra') as disfigured with a thousand absurdities and pretensions, and says that at the close Cecco declares that he has neither said nor desired to assert anything contrary to the doctrines of the Church.[2] That artful precaution possibly saved him from the stake on this occasion.

It happened, however, that the before-mentioned Dino del Garbo, himself a renowned doctor, had likewise been a professor at Bologna[3] (and by some has been considered also to have held the post of physician to Pope John XXII.), but he had been driven away thence to Siena through the envy or

[1] Bernini.
[2] Istoria della Volg. Poesia, lib. v.
[3] 'Bononiæ profecit et docet.'—Anthropologia, lib. xxii.

animosity of his colleagues, or, according to Villani (likewise his contemporary), through his having been discovered profitably teaching from a treatise of Torrigiani's,[1] to them previously unknown. His son, Tommaso,[2] in turn had held a chair at Bologna, and thus the professional rivalry was continued after the manner of a vendetta, with the result as related, so far as Cecco was concerned. This Dino likewise set up practice in Florence.

Fortune, nevertheless, once more befriended the illustrious Cecco. Charles,[3] Duke of Calabria, only son of King Robert of Naples, being invited by the Republic of Florence to assume the supreme power for ten years in their capital, arrived there in July 1326, a year after the birth of his daughter, afterwards Queen Giovanna I.[4]

On May 31st of the following year, Cecco was appointed court astrologer and physician, with a salary of three ounces of gold per month.[5]

In this honourable berth he thought himself free to air his opinions and forget those uncomfortable admonitions formerly received at Bologna. Among the citizens of Florence he was esteemed a vain, bitter, and worldly man, and a despiser of women, though many credited him with being a remarkable

[1] Di Torrigiano, Sommo Fisico. G. Villani, Vita d'Illustre Fiorentini.
[2] Di Tommaso del Garbo. G. Villani, Vita d'Illustre Fiorentini.
[3] Ammirato, Storia di Firenze.
[4] On April 23, 1327, a son was born to him by Mary of Valois, christened Carlo Martello, but who died eight days after birth, and was buried in Sta. Croce.
[5] Archiv. Storic. Provinc. Napol., anno xvii. fasc. 2.

astrologer, and with having accurately predicted[1] the death of Castruccio Castracane (the great scourge of the Republic at that period) and the advent and coronation at Rome of the excommunicated Emperor, Louis of Bavaria. Cecco further circulated there his dreary and feeble poem called 'L'Acerba,'[2] and amused himself by writing many sonnets to Cino da Pistoia and others;—just as Cino himself wrote to Onesto di Boncima and Cavalcanti, and had formerly written to Dante.

Nevertheless, the luxurious Court of Charles of Calabria proved to be no bed of roses for Cecco. Dino del Garbo, now living and practising in Florence, was therefore eye to eye with his former rival and future victim; with a despised native of Southern Italy promoted to a royal and Florentine practice; with the maundering, sharp-tongued poet-aster who had dared in one and the same work to challenge Dante to dispute with him about fate and necessity, and to deride that great poet as a writer of fables; above all, with a notorious heretic.[3] Besides Dino, Cecco found a new enemy in the Franciscan Bishop of Aversa, who then held the post of chaplain in the Duke's household. Whether, as is not

[1] The story of Cecco having here predicted evil of Queen Joanna I. on casting her horoscope may be dismissed as a fable, seeing that she was born before Charles of Calabria came to Florence.

[2] Crescimbeni, Istoria della Volgar Poesia, lib. v. 306. Tiraboschi, Storia della Litt., tom. v. lib. ii. cap. 2.

[3] Among other perilously rash undertakings, Cecco seems to have made fun of Guido Cavalcanti's poem 'Donna, mi pregha,' a poem De Sade declares the Florentines to have idolised.

improbable, these two combined against him (as Villani gives reason for believing), or whether the Bishop acted by himself in the matter, it is certain that Cecco, after but a few weeks, was dismissed from the Duke's service on the ground of being a fatalistic philosopher.

One morning in July of the same year, Cecco found himself once more arrested by two familiars of the Inquisition, and being led toward the Church of the Minor Friars (Sta. Croce; Sta. Maria Novella being in course of construction). He was then charged before Fra Accursio, Inquisitor of Florence, with being a relapsed heretic. A tribunal was formed, which included the Cardinal-legate of Tuscany and the Bishops of Arezzo and Aversa. The indictment proved to rest upon certain heretical[1] statements in the before-mentioned commentary on 'De Sphæra.' The 'Acerba'[2] was likewise put in evidence, and, in order to wring full confession from him, Cecco was severely tortured.[3] On the 15th of September his doom was pronounced.

He was found guilty of having declared that evil spirits are generated in the sky, and that at certain seasons they can be compelled to descend to earth and work wonders; that necessity is owing to

[1] 'Pieno di eresie falsita e ingane.'—Extract from the sentence.

[2] 'Un certo altro libretto, volgare intitolato Acerbo.'—Ibid.

[3] Although the sentence naively declares, 'Senza nissuna oppressione di forza per sua libera e spontanea voluntà.'—Extract from the sentence. Lea, Hist. Inquis., vol. ii. p. 655. Given also, but with many misreadings, in Fanfani's novel, 'Cecco d'Ascoli.'

stellar influences, which, however, he identifies with the will of God;—that according to his horoscope, Christ was predestined to lead the life of misery he had led, and to die the death he had died;[1]—finally, that Antichrist would come into the world very rich and powerful. This last declaration certainly looks like a hit at his former master, the Papal miser, then at Avignon, who died some years later worth no less than 18,000,000 fiorini. He also confessed that he had predicted by means of astrology the chief events in the Florentine war with Castruccio Castracane and the coming of the Bavarian Emperor.

Copy of the former confession and judgment at Bologna in 1324 was furnished, and the miserable man, found guilty on all counts, as a relapsed heretic, was condemned to the stake, and therefore handed over to Jacopo da Brescia, the Ducal Vicar-Secular.[2] One appointed afternoon[3] (September 16, 1327), accordingly, all Florence thronged to the place of execution beyond the walls, many being anxious to see whether the famous astrologer would merely burn like any ordinary man, or whether the evil spirits would come down to rescue and carry him off from their midst.[4]

[1] 'Che per cio doveva essere giusta la sua morte per destinazione, e doveva morire di quella morte e modo che mori.'—Extract from the sentence. Lea, Hist. Inquis., vol. iii. p. 656.

[2] 'Che lo debba punire con debita considerazione.'—Extract from the sentence. Lea, Hist. Inquis., vol. iii. pp. 655–657.

[3] Giov. Villani, Chroniche, cap. xl. Ammirato, Istoria di Firenze, sub anno.

[4] Cantù, Eretici d'Italia, i. 149–152; Lea, Hist. Inquis., vol. iii. pp. 443, 444.

De Sade passes the ironic verdict upon him—'S'il n'etoit pas plus sorcier que poëte comme il y a apparence, on lui fit une grande injustice en le brûlant.'[1]

In reading the 'Acerba,'[2] one is soon made aware of the plentiful lack of poetical quality in its writer, and of the constantly recurrent spirit of caustic envy toward his great contemporary. The poem is divided into five books, and is written in stanzas of six lines with three rhymes, which arrangement just misses the continuative advantage of Dante's *terza rima*. The subject-matter pretends to be encyclopædic, to embrace all things in heaven, earth, and air—things natural and supernatural. In very deed it is a cabalistic farrago, full of gnomes, salamanders, and cockatrices. Ginguené wittily suggests that 'L'Acerva' = the heap, would have befitted its character better than 'L'Acerba' = the bitter. The latter term, however, may be rendered 'the crabbed' or 'the inhuman' or 'the immature,'—each of which epithets can be well justified by examination of its contents. Often, amid the jingle of mystical nonsense, or in deserts of irredeemable dulness, we come upon a bitter spring, from which the vain and foolish author would have us mock our thirst ere we proceed farther. These saline draughts generally effervesce around the name of Dante or of Bologna—as might be expected—and

[1] Mem. Petrarque, liv. i. p. 50.

[2] The 'Acerba' passed through no less than eighteen editions before 1546.

sometimes are nothing more than deliberate imitations of Dante's manner or sentiment. Take this anent Bologna and Florence :—

'O gente Acerba,
O Bolognese, anime di fuoco,
A picol tempo regnerete al ponto
Che cadeva Bologna apoco apoco.
Hor vi ricordi come il divino archo
Ogni peccato con la pena ha gionto,
Et aspectando assai piu si fa carcho
De voi me dole ch'io spero de venire
Al nido che fondato in la giaccia
De li globate stelle al mio partire ;
Et po mi doglio e piango di Firenze
Che lacrimando discorderasse daccia
Facendo agli Lucchese nova offense.
Hor piange Pisa con sospir' dolenti
Quando triumpho di Monte Catino
Et del Francesco sangue teramenti
Il tuo valor convien pur che si spegna.'

Or this, headed—

'De la Nobilitate.'

'Ma qui me scrisse dubitando Dante,
Son doi figlioli nati in uno parto
Et piu gentil si mostra quel davante
Et cio converso come gia vedi
Torno a Ravenna de li non me parto
Dime, Esculano, quel che tu ne credi
Rescrissi a Dante intendi tu che legi
Fanno gli cieli per diversi aspecti
Secundo il modo philosopho che pregi
Per qualita li diverse mostre
In uno concepto variati effecti
Secundo quelle ch'a l'anime lostre.'

—Lib. ii. cap. 12.

'On Temperance,' addressed to his native Ascoli (lib. ii. cap. 8):—

'O madre bella, O terra Esculana
. . . . .
Altieri e occulti son gli tuoi figlioli
Et timidi in conspecto de le gente
Invidiosi sono pur fra lor soli.
O Esculani, homini inconstanti,
Tornate ne gli belli acti lucenti!'

And this to Dante, reprehending his doctrines:—

'In cio peccasti, fiorentin Poeta,
Ponendo che gli ben de la fortuna
Necessitati sieno con lor meta.
Non è Fortuna, cui ragion non vinca,
Or pensa Dante, se prova nessuna
Si può piu fare che questa convinca.
. . . . .
Fortuna non è altro che disposto
Cielo, che dispone cosa animata;
Qual disponendo se trova s'opposto
Non vien necessitate il ben felice
Essendo in liberta l'alma creata
Fortuna in lei non può se contradice.
. . . . .
Qui non si canta al modo de li rane,
Qui non si canta al modo del poeta
Che finge imaginando cose vane,—
Ma qui risplende e luce ogni natura
Che a chi intende fa la mente lieta
Qui non si sognia per la selva scura;
Qui non vego Paulo ne Francesca,
De li Manfreddi non vego Alberigo

Che de li amari fructi ne la dolcie escha
Dal mastino novo e vecchio da veruchio
Che fecie di montagnia qui non dicho
Ne de franceschi lor sanguignio muchio.'

In one book he flatters King Robert, in another he presages the death of kings.

Well indeed might Benedetto de Cesena speak of Cecco as—

'O Asculan, col tuo indurata core,
De Invidia pregno, eresiarco ch'arse
Fiorenza te per lo tuo grand' errore.
Le rime tue bench' elle siano scarse
Del son cha pochi Calliope concede
Pur tra la gente sono molto sparse.'[1]

The 'Acerba' concludes with 'Laus Omnipotente Deo!'

Pietro Lorenzetti has placed Cecco among the lost in one of the circles of his 'Last Judgment' in the Campo Santo at Pisa, in company with a certain Guardi[2] who, Vasari avers, had seized the painter's goods for debt; while he has figured Dino del Garbo, his mortal enemy (who survived Cecco but ten days),[3] supported by an angel, and wearing the Doctor's red cap lined with grey miniver, among the Blessed.[4]

[1] De Honor. Mulier, lib. iv. epist. 2.
[2] Serjeant of the Florentine Commune.
[3] Vasari, vol. i. art. Andrea Orcagna.
[4] Giov. Villani, Chroniche, cap. xlii.

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